

The History
of the Reformation
in Scotland

John Knox



PRESS OPINIONS.

A POPULAR edition in one volume of Knox's *History* places within the reach of ordinary readers a work hitherto only accessible in a collected edition of the Reformer's works. . . . The most characteristic passages give a sufficient idea of the strangely forcible character of this record, by an earnest, gifted, outspoken zealot, of events *quorum pars magna fuit*, dashed off at white-heat in the temper of the pulpit rather than that of the study—yet, despite its many peculiarities, a remarkable specimen of clear, nervous English, if not of impartial history.—**The TIMES.**

The editors who have hitherto dealt with the manuscripts in which Knox's *History* is preserved have been content to address the restricted circles of the learned. It has been reserved for Mr. Guthrie to make of Knox's *History* a book which a man may read without having Jamieson's *Dictionary* at his elbow, and, what is more, without having his attention perpetually distracted from the matter he is reading by pedantries, archaisms, and points of obsolete typographical formality, which, in view of the admirable convenience of Mr. Guthrie's version, cannot but seem absurd to any but a hardened antiquarian. Mr. Guthrie has reformed Knox's spelling till it accords with the usage of to-day. The result amply justifies the experiment, as it does in the case of the other modernisations in the matters of punctuation, paragraphing, and division into chapters, which have turned the work in its material aspect from a rough and tough enclosure, fenced with barbed wire, into an open and attractive park, into which whoso wills may wander. In presenting the work in so generally intelligible and so generally attractive a form, Mr. Guthrie has rendered no small service to literature, to history, and to the spread of the principles of Protestantism.—**The SCOTSMAN.**

Mr. Guthrie has edited in a scholarly and yet popular manner John Knox's virile and fascinating *History*. The charm of this edition is enhanced by many admirable portraits and other illustrations.—**The SPEAKER.**

There was certainly room for this edition for popular use, seeing that the only other now obtainable is Dr. Laing's costly and cumbrous one. Edited by Mr. Guthrie, supplied with notes and glossary, and well got up, this edition is just the one required.—**PALL MALL GAZETTE.**

Of the enormous value of Knox's great work we have the profoundest sense. It entitles Knox to be called the father, not merely of Anglo-Scottish history, but of modern history generally; it gives a picture of contemporary events that has hardly been matched since for vigour and vividness. . . . Mr. Guthrie has done his work admirably.—**The ATHENÆUM.**

Knox's *History* has never before been presented in such an authentic form. . . . Acquaintance with this edition will doubtless bring delight to many readers who would never have tackled the work in a less pleasing guise.—**BOOKMAN.**

Mr. Guthrie has done excellent service by the preparation of a finely illustrated popular edition of a book which John Milton valued and Thomas Carlyle praised. . . . Speeches and sermons and other wearisome material have wisely been omitted, and the contraction of the narrative only throws into a bold relief the historical and personal charm of many famous passages. Many of Knox's passing portraits of historical personages are startling in their realistic vigour and subtle in their moral penetration.—**STANDARD.**

An exceedingly seasonable volume at the present time, when the Reformation settlements and foundations are so much under discussion.—**SCOTS MAGAZINE.**

THE HISTORY OF
THE REFORMATION
IN SCOTLAND



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JOHN KNOX

In the National Portrait Gallery, London. Artist unknown.

THE HISTORY OF THE
REFORMATION OF RELIGION
WITHIN THE REALM OF SCOTLAND

WRITTEN BY
JOHN KNOX

EDITED FOR POPULAR USE BY
C. J. GUTHRIE, Q.C.

With Notes, Summary, Glossary, Index,
and Fifty-six Illustrations

SECOND EDITION

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‘If the work of any deceased author, though never so famous in his lifetime, came into the hands of Licensers for the Press, if there be found one sentence of a venturous edge uttered in the height of zeal, though it were KNOX HIMSELF, THE REFORMER OF A KINGDOM, that spoke it, the sense of THAT GREAT MAN shall to all posterity be lost for the fearfulness of a perfunctory licenser.’—JOHN MILTON in *Areopagitica*, referring to John Knox’s *History of the Reformation*.

‘IT IS REALLY A LOSS TO ENGLISH AND EVEN TO UNIVERSAL LITERATURE THAT KNOX’S HASTY AND STRANGELY INTERESTING, IMPRESSIVE, AND PECULIAR BOOK, “THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND,” HAS NOT BEEN RENDERED FAR MORE EXTENSIVELY LEGIBLE TO SERIOUS MANKIND AT LARGE THAN IS HITHERTO THE CASE.’—THOMAS CARLYLE in his *Essay on the Portraits of John Knox*.

‘There certainly is in the English language no parallel to that wonderful book in the clearness, vigour, and picturesqueness with which it renders the history of a stirring period. Whoever would see and feel the spirit of the Reformation in Scotland—and in England too, for that matter—must needs read and study John Knox’s *History of the Reformation in Scotland*.’—JOHN HILL BURTON’S *History of Scotland*, vol. iv. page 51.

‘Perhaps the only writings with which this History can be fitly compared are the historical books of the Old Testament. The style is terse and rapid, and abounds in sentences winged and pointed like arrows. Most of his countrymen wrote in Scots. Unlike them, Knox writes in clear, excellent English, with an intermixture of Scottish words.’—MRS. M’CUNN’S *Life of John Knox*, page 178.

‘Knox’s delineation of the history of the Reformation in Scotland has been definitely placed above all that Great Britain can show of an earlier date in prose literature. It has been thought that we must come down to the middle of the eighteenth century, ere it is possible to meet with any work, at least in Scotland, which can compete with it.’—*Life of Earl of Bothwell*, by FREDERICK SCHIERN, Professor of History in the University of Copenhagen.

‘Knox’s portraits of his contemporaries are usually so life-like that we feel persuaded they are true to nature. Mary of Guise and her unhappy daughter, the Regent Moray and the Secretary Lethington, the two statesmen of the time, and the rest are all placed before us not by elaborate description and analysis, as Clarendon would have done it, but by a concise account of their conduct and note of their most notable sayings.’—SIR WILLIAM STIRLING MAXWELL *On some varieties of historical style*.

‘Compare Pitscottie (in his *Chronicles of Scotland*) and Knox on the murder of Cardinal Beaton. The one is something naïve; the other as it were Shakespearean.’—W. E. HENLEY on *Robert Burns*.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

The History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland, written by John Knox between 1559 and 1571, forms the first two volumes of Dr. David Laing's edition of Knox's Works. That edition of the *History*—the result of a collation of imperfect mss., and of the text of sixteenth and seventeenth century printed editions—can never be superseded. It is a monument of Dr. Laing's learning, skill, and industry; and the notes with which the text is accompanied are models of temperate, accurate, and exhaustive statement.

But Dr. Laing's edition of the *History*, the only one now obtainable, is not fitted for popular use. Its length (two volumes, containing 1035 pages), its incorporation in a six-volume edition of Knox's writings, its price, confine it to a limited circle of readers; and, in addition, its spelling is so archaic and irregular as to restrict its use to scholars. In *Blackwood's Magazine* for March 1898, it was stated that in the libraries of two Scottish Universities the pages of Dr. Laing's edition of Knox's Works were found uncut. In full knowledge of the merits of that edition Thomas Carlyle wrote: 'Knox's books, especially his *History of the Reformation*, if well read (which, unfortunately, is not possible for every one, and has grave preliminary difficulties for even a Scottish reader, still more for an English one), testify in parts of them to the finest qualities that belong to a human intellect: still more evidently to those of the moral,

emotional, or sympathetic sort, or that concern the religious side of a man's soul. IT IS REALLY A LOSS TO ENGLISH, AND EVEN TO UNIVERSAL, LITERATURE THAT KNOX'S HASTY AND STRANGELY INTERESTING, IMPRESSIVE, AND PECULIAR BOOK, *The History of the Reformation in Scotland*, HAS NOT BEEN RENDERED FAR MORE EXTENSIVELY LEGIBLE TO SERIOUS MANKIND AT LARGE THAN IS HITHERTO THE CASE.'—(*Essay on the Portraits of John Knox.*)

To supply the want thus indicated thirty years ago is the object of the present publication. Indeed, we look for a wider circle of readers than Mr. Carlyle contemplated. Even persons not accustomed to reckon themselves, or to be reckoned by their friends, among 'serious mankind at large,' will find in this volume an amount of human interest, of dramatic incident, and of homely humour, which the title might not lead them to anticipate. And, if not in their case, certainly in the case of many of those to whom Carlyle directly refers, perusal of this popular abridged version ought to induce study of the full text as it appears in Dr. Laing's incomparable edition.

No manuscript of the *History* in Knox's handwriting exists; but what is known as the 1566 MS. (now in the possession of the University of Edinburgh) contains some marginal notes and corrections which Dr. Laing thought to be in Knox's hand. That MS., with the exception of certain portions added by various hands from other copies, is in the handwriting of John Gray, Clerk or Scribe to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, who acted as Knox's principal amanuensis. Dr. Laing generally adhered to the 1566 manuscript, although in some cases he preferred readings derived from what he calls the Glasgow MS., and from other sources.

The work was not written by Knox in regular sequence,

what are now the Second and Third Books having been written before what now forms the First Book. It was not revised, and no portion of it was published in the author's lifetime. Contrary to his friends' wishes, Knox adhered to the view expressed to John Wood, the Regent Moray's Secretary, on 14th February 1568:—'Then' (after his death) 'it shall be in the opinion of others whether it shall be suppressed or come to light.' Between the different mss., as well as between Vautrollier's edition, printed in London in 1586, Buchanan's editions, published in folio in London and in quarto in Edinburgh in 1644, and the excellent folio edition published in Edinburgh by the Rev. Matthew Crawford in 1732, there are many and important differences. Vautrollier's edition was altered in several passages so as not to offend Queen Elizabeth. For instance, Knox's caustic statement that Her Majesty was 'neither good Protestant nor yet resolute Papist!' was omitted—but, notwithstanding, the whole issue was seized in London by order of the Archbishop of Canterbury before the printing was completed, and most of the twelve hundred copies were destroyed. Buchanan's editions, which are full of suppressions, additions, and blunders, seem, from a statement by John Milton in his *Areopagitica*, to have come under the pruning-hook of the Crown revisers.

I have generally followed Dr. Laing's text, but in many cases I have preferred readings taken from mss. other than the 1566 ms.—one being a manuscript of part of the Fourth Book unknown to Dr. Laing—or from the older printed editions, or from the originals of documents inaccurately copied by Knox's amanuenses. There are passages which appear to be corrupt in all the mss.; these I have omitted. In other cases, what Dr. Laing calls 'unintelligible nonsense' (*Knox's Works*, vol. i. p. 233), as

contained in one ms., becomes clear on reference to another. For example, in most of the mss. of the First Book the name 'William Guthrie' has been copied 'within gathered'; and in Vautrollier's edition, in a passage referring to David Rizzio, 'his other villainy' appears as 'his other William'! No manuscript of the so-called Fifth Book of Knox's *History* is extant, and I have not reproduced any part of that book. Although at one time doubted, the first four books are now universally ascribed to Knox; but it seems certain that little, if any, of what has been called the Fifth Book (which first appeared in David Buchanan's editions, published in 1644) was written by Knox.

In order to keep the present work within moderate compass, and at the same time to make it possible to include the most characteristic parts of the *History*, it has been found necessary to omit the whole of the Confession of Faith, most of the First Book of Discipline, and many speeches and sermons, letters and other documents—what Sir William Stirling Maxwell described as 'the wearisome and irrelevant sermons and State Papers which encumber Knox's *History*'—although, except in special instances, it has not been thought needful to distract the reader's attention by noting the omissions. The narrative has also been abridged by the omission of repetitions and redundancies, as well as of long passages of minor interest; but care has been taken to give, so far as possible, the parts of the *History* which have been quoted or referred to in detail by historians and other writers, including Knox's vivid account of his four interviews with Queen Mary at Holyrood and Lochleven, and his trial for High Treason.

Throughout, following the practice now adopted in all editions of the Authorised Version of the Scriptures, the

spelling has been modernised; but in other respects Knox's characteristic English has been retained. In none of the previous issues—not even in M'Gavin's modernised edition, published in 1831—were the books divided into chapters. This has now been done; and the long paragraphs of the original, frequently extending over many pages, have been sub-divided, and rubrics added; while, by mere change of punctuation, sentences which in previous editions occupied nearly a paragraph, have been broken up into sentences of ordinary length.

Obsolete words used by Knox have been retained, and explanations of their meaning given in a Glossary, as well as, in some instances, in the text in italics. In certain places, marked in some cases by square brackets, words have been inserted in the text for identification of persons, places, or periods of time. It will thus be apparent that the book is not fitted for the use of those wishing exact quotation of the original. It is intended for popular readers, not for scholars. The notes consist mainly of extracts from Knox's other writings or from the writings of his contemporaries. Some readers may be surprised to find how few Scots words are used by Knox, and how modern his style appears, once the superficial difficulties (caused by the irregular old spelling of his amanuenses and the long sentences) are removed; they must remember that Knox spent five years of his life in England as a clergyman of the Church of England, and other five years in France, Germany, and Switzerland, in the society of cultured Englishmen and Englishwomen. Ninian Wingate, his Scottish Roman Catholic opponent, made Knox's English tongue a reproach to him: 'Gif ye, throw curiositie of novationis, hes forzet our auld plaine Scottis, quhilk zour mother lerit zou, in times cuming I sall wrytt to zou

my mynd in Latin, for I am nocht acqyntit with zour Southeroun!’ And Knox tells how, when it was reported to the Queen Regent, in 1556, that he had preached in Ayr, ‘divers men were of divers opinions, some affirming that it was an Englishman, and some supposing the contrary. A prelate, not of the least pride, said, “Nay, no Englishman; but it is Knox, that knave!”’

There is no reason to doubt that we have the *History* as Knox left it. His friends considered the propriety of modifying some parts before publication, as appears by a letter from George Buchanan to Thomas Randolph, the English envoy, dated 6th August 1572, three months before Knox’s death: ‘As to Master Knox, his *History* is in his friends’ hands, and they are in consultation to mitigate some part the acerbitie of certain words and some taunts wherein he has followed too much some of your English writers.’ Judging by the appearance of the mss., the consultation seems to have had no result, and these ‘words’ and ‘taunts’ have to be dealt with. Undoubtedly, there are passages and expressions in the *History* which, although in strict accord with the habits of speech of the time, and with the extravagant abuse which was hurled at Knox by his antagonists, are in striking contrast with the enlightened and humane views Knox generally enforced, and with the tenor of a life which effected a revolution so bloodless, that the Regent Moray, in his speech to the Scottish Parliament of 1567, was able to say, ‘The True Religion hath obtained a free course universally throughout the Realm, and yet not one Scotsman’s blood hath been shed.’ While condemning Knox’s language, the fault of ignorance or of prejudice will be ours if we cannot make allowance for the man who, great as he was, failed to shake off

the intolerance in which the Church of Rome had educated him. Little wonder if he was unable to speak in duly measured phrase of the men and women and their Church whose ceaseless effort it was, by fair means and foul, to reimpose on Scotland the spiritual and intellectual bondage from which he had delivered it. Little wonder, too, if he was not always fair towards opponents in a struggle during which his own life had been several times attempted and he himself had been exiled, enslaved amidst the horrors of the French galleys for nineteen months, and condemned to the stake.

During the present century, Knox's career in Great Britain and on the Continent has been chronicled in the biographies of Dr. M'Crie, published in 1811, and of Dr. Hume Brown, published in 1895, as well as in the shorter works of Dr. W. M. Taylor, of New York, Mrs. M'Cum, of Liverpool, and Mr. Taylor Innes, of Edinburgh. His character has been vindicated by Carlyle and by Froude. His influence on the Church of England has been proved by Dr. Lorimer in his *Knox and the Church of England*, and he forms one of the most striking figures in Mr. Swinburne's tragedy of *Bothwell*. But the best estimate of Knox as a man, as a statesman, and as a churchman, is to be gathered from personal contact with him in his writings. Among these writings, none is more characteristic than the *History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland*.

CHARLES J. GUTHRIE.

13 ROYAL CIRCUS,
EDINBURGH, 1898.

the journey
 violent had
 first refused
 God and not
 absolute his
 dwell

 The
 unhappy man (no 156) Balthus 16 1698 1698
 me wandered my path to the appetites of the world
 for joy, pleasure, state away from the world
 my in the palace of his mind I sought
 rested my self to the end of the world
 ed, absolute, I intended his possession of the world
 his holy evangel, and violated his duty before he had made

2. Reduced facsimile of part of the 1566 MS. now in the library of the University of Edinburgh. The marginal is in John Knox's handwriting, and the text is in the hand of an amanuensis. The passage will be found at page 44 of this book, beginning 'The unhappy man' and ending 'and violated his oath that before he had made.'

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HISTORICAL SUMMARY OF THE REFORMATION PERIOD IN SCOTTISH HISTORY

1513. Battle of Flodden ; James iv. and most of the Scots nobles slain ; James v. succeeds his father at the age of eighteen months ; chief power in the hands of Archbishop Beaton, uncle of Cardinal Beaton, 3.
1517. Luther's protest at Wittenberg against the sale of indulgences.
1520. Luther excommunicated.
1525. Act of the Scots Parliament against heretics ; circulation of Luther's works, 'and all such filth and vice' prohibited, 4.
1527. Master Patrick Hamilton preaches Justification by Faith, 4.
1528. Hamilton, twenty-four years of age, condemned by Archbishop Beaton, is burned at the stake, 6.—The people everywhere inquire why he was burned, 8.—Publication of Sir David Lyndsay's poems satirising the licentious lives of the clergy and the abuses of the Church ; extensive circulation in Scotland of the writings of the Continental Reformers and of Tyndale's Bible, and of *The Gude and Godly Ballatis*.
1534. Peace concluded with England ; final breach between Henry viii. and the Pope ; dispersion of Scots Reformers into England and on the Continent, 14.—Archbishop Beaton burns Straton and Gourlay, 15.
1535. Friar Seton denounces the 'corrupt doctrine of the Papacy,' 11.—Merchants and mariners spread the Reformed Doctrine in Scotland, 17.
1536. Publication at Basle of John Calvin's *Institutes*.
1538. Marriage of James v. to Mary of Lorraine, of the ultra-Catholic House of Guise, 17.—Martyrdom of priests, friars, and gentlemen 'in one fire,' 19.

1539. Persecution of persons suspected of Lutheranism ; narrow escape of George Buchanan, Scotland's greatest scholar, 23.—Henry viii. is anxious to form an alliance with his nephew, James v. ; meeting at York between the two Kings prevented by Cardinal Beaton, 25. The Scottish King, previously tolerant of the Reformed opinions, gives himself over to the guidance of Cardinal Beaton, 27.
1540. Act against image-breaking and private meetings of heretics.
1541. Act enjoining Churchmen to reform themselves 'in habit and manners to God and man.'
1542. Defeat of the Scots under Oliver Sinclair by Lord Dacre at Solway Moss, 29.—Birth of the Princess Mary, daughter of James v., on 8th December ; death of James v., on 13th December, and accession of the Princess Mary as Queen of Scots, five days old, 34.
1543. The Earl of Arran chosen Regent ; at first he favours the Reformed opinions, 35.—Evangelical Preaching of Friars Guillaume and Rough, 36.—Act authorising the reading of the Scriptures 'in Inglis or Scottis,' 39.—An alliance with England is sanctioned by the Scots Parliament in March ; Mary, Queen of Scots, is to be educated in England and married to King Henry's son, Edward, 41.—In September the Regent Arran renounces Protestantism, 44.—Mary Stuart crowned Queen of Scots at the age of nine months ; the treaty with England declared null, and the old league with France renewed, 44.
1544. War declared by Henry viii. ; Edinburgh and the southern towns and abbeys of Scotland burned by Lord Hertford, 45.—Persecution of the Protestants by Cardinal Beaton, 47.—Scotland divided into two factions, one favouring France and Catholicism, the other favouring England and Protestantism, 50.
1545. Knox, aged forty, attaches himself to George Wishart, as an avowed adherent of the Reformed Faith, 56.—Quarrel between Cardinal Beaton and Archbishop Dunbar of Glasgow, 60.
1546. Martyrdom of George Wishart at St. Andrews in March, 63.—The people cry for vengeance, 65.—Murder of Cardinal

Beaton at St. Andrews in May, 66.—Death of Martin Luther at Eisleben, aged sixty-three.

1547. John Knox is publicly called on by Friar Rough (acting with Sir David Lyndsay and Master Balnaves) to preach his first sermon in the Castle of St. Andrews, 71.—Knox taken to task by the Friars, 76.—Siege and capture of the Castle by French ships, 79.—Many Scots Protestants, including Knox, sent as prisoners to the French galleys for nineteen months, 82.—Death of Henry viii.; succeeded by Edward vi.—Renewed invasion by the English under the Protector Somerset, 83.—The Regent Arran defeated at Pinkie, 85.

1548. Depredations by the English, 87.—The Scots Parliament declares for France, 88.—Mary, Queen of Scots, sent at age of five to France, 89.—Brutal conduct of the French in Edinburgh, 91.

1549. Provincial Council of Catholic Clergy, held at Edinburgh, declares that the causes of the troubles in the Church are the 'corrupt manners and profane lewdness of ecclesiastical persons, together with their crass ignorance of letters,' 12.—Liberation of the Scots prisoners from the French galleys, 97.—The Privy Council of England, with the approval of Archbishop Cranmer and Sir William Cecil, appoint Knox to be Preacher at Berwick, 98.

1550. Treaty of Boulogne between England, Scotland, and France, 101.—Martyrdom of Adam Wallace, 106.—The Queen Dowager visits her daughter Mary, Queen of Scots, in France, 109.

1551. Knox appointed Chaplain in Ordinary to King Edward vi.; he assists in the revision of the Articles and Liturgy of the Church of England, 98.

1552. Knox declines the Bishopric of Rochester offered to him at the suggestion of the Duke of Northumberland, 98.—A Roman Catholic Catechism, making no reference to the supremacy of the Pope, is sanctioned by Archbishop Hamilton, 133.

1553. Death of Edward VI., and accession of his sister, Mary Tudor, 107.—Commencement of the Marian persecution in England, 109.—Flight of Protestants from England to Scotland and the Continent, 110.
1554. The Queen Dowager is made Regent in place of the Earl of Arran, who is created Duke of Chatelherault, 107.—Return to Scotland of John Willock and other preachers of the Reformed opinions, 110.—On the advice of John Calvin, Knox becomes minister of the English congregation at Frankfort ; on account of dissensions there, he goes to Geneva, 119.
1555. Visit by Knox to Scotland from Geneva, 111.—Discussion as to the Mass between Knox and Maitland of Lethington, 112.—Bishops Latimer and Ridley burned at Oxford.
1556. After preaching and administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in different parts of Scotland, Knox returns to the pastorate of the English congregation, and to his Greek and Hebrew studies in Geneva ; Knox condemned in absence by the Scots prelates for heresy, and burned in effigy at the Cross of Edinburgh, 119.—Archbishop Cranmer burned at Oxford.
1557. Riot in Edinburgh on St. Giles' Day, 123.—Appointment of eight Commissioners, Roman Catholic and Protestant, to France (of whom only four returned alive), to attend the marriage of Queen Mary with the Dauphin, 126.—'Bond' to defend the Protestant Faith drawn up by the Scots nobles and gentlemen, the 'Lords of the Congregation,' 133.
1558. Marriage of Queen Mary to the Dauphin, after signing a secret treaty giving Scotland to France, failing her issue, and annulling all contrary compacts, made and to be made, 139.—Death of Mary Tudor in England, and accession of her sister Elizabeth ; Petitions to the Queen Regent by the Scots Protestants for Church Reform, and for liberty to worship according to their consciences, 149.—Martyrdom at St. Andrews of the last Protestant martyr, Walter Myln, a priest, aged eighty-two, 155.—The Queen Regent temporises, and tries 'by amiable looks and good words' to stem the rising tide, 157.—Protestation in Parliament by the Reformers, 158.

1559. Publication on 1st January of 'The Beggars' Summons,' claiming from the friars 'restitution of wrongs past and reformation in times coming,' 136.—The Queen Regent forbids preaching or administration of sacraments without leave of the bishops; Willock, Row, Douglas, Harlaw, Methven, and other Protestant ministers, disregarding the order, are summoned for treason, and, on their non-appearance, outlawed, contrary to the promise of the Queen Regent, 160.—Knox finally returns to Scotland from Geneva on 2nd May, 162.—He preaches at Perth, 163.—Three monasteries there destroyed by the 'rascal multitude,' incensed at the treachery of the Queen Regent, who also burn the Abbey and Palace of Scone, despite the efforts of Knox and the Lords of the Congregation, 163, 179.—The Queen Regent will make no terms with the Protestants, and proclaims them rebels, 165.—Civil war between the Queen Regent, with the party of France, on the one side, and the Protestants, supported by England, on the other, 166.—The Earl of Argyle, Lord James Stewart, and Maitland of Lethington leave the Queen Regent and join 'The Congregation,' 173.—Knox preaches at St. Andrews in defiance of Archbishop Hamilton's prohibition, 175.—Negotiations between the Queen Regent and the Protestant Lords, 181.—The Protestants suffer defeat notwithstanding the valour of the Earl of Arran and Lord James Stewart; they leave Edinburgh, 196.—Queen Elizabeth to the rescue, 199.—Owing to the death of Henry II. at a tournament, Mary Stuart becomes Queen Consort of France as well as Queen of Scotland.

1560. (*Ordinarily called the Year of the Scottish Reformation.*) Treaty of Berwick between Queen Elizabeth and the Scots Protestants, 214.—Mass said on 31st March for the last time in St. Giles, in Edinburgh; invasion of Scotland by French troops, 215.—English troops and ships sent by Elizabeth to the aid of the Scots Protestants, at the instigation of Sir William Cecil, after repeated letters from Knox, 216.—Siege of Leith by the English and the Scots Protestants, 217.—Death of the Queen Regent, 221.—'Treaty of Edinburgh' between Scotland, England, and France for evacuation of Scotland by English and French, 224.—Meeting of REFORMATION PARLIAMENT, without the sanction of the Crown, which

abolished the jurisdiction of the Pope in Scotland, and ratified the Confession of Faith, 229.—First meeting of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; Superintendents appointed; and principal ministers placed in chief towns, 227.—Persecution of the Huguenots in France under Francis II. and his Queen, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, 236.—Death of Francis II., leaving Mary Stuart a widow at eighteen, 240.

1561. Rapid spread of the Reformation throughout Scotland; the First Book of Discipline discussed, 235.—Convention of the Scots nobility in Edinburgh on learning the death of the Queen's husband, 240.—Lord James Stewart sent to France by the Convention to treat with his sister Queen Mary on their behalf, 244.—Robin Hood riots in Edinburgh, 244.—Narrow escape of Lord James in Paris, 247.—Arrival of Mary, Queen of Scots, from France on 20th August, after thirteen years' absence, 266.—Attempt to interrupt the Queen's Mass at Holyrood prevented by Lord James Stewart, who stood at the door of the royal chapel with drawn sword, 268.—Knox's first interview with Mary on 26th August, at Holyrood, in presence of Lord James Stewart, 271.—Lord James made Lieutenant of the Borders, 286.—The First Book of Discipline 'scripp'd at' in the General Assembly, 289.—Discussion of arrangements for the support of the Protestant ministers, 290.

1562. Lord James Stewart is created Earl of Moray, 291.—Knox reconciles the Earl of Bothwell and the Earl of Arran (son of the Duke of Chatelherault), 293.—The Earl of Arran becomes insane, 299.—Proposals for Mary's hand from kings, princes, archdukes, dukes, and earls, 308, 313.—Journey by the Queen to the North of Scotland, and suppression of the Earl of Huntly's rebellion, 309.—Attempts to restore Popery; Knox's second interview with Mary in presence of the Earl of Moray (Lord James Stewart), the Earl of Morton, and Secretary Lethington, 302.—Proposed meeting between Elizabeth and Mary at Nottingham, 307, 309.—Escape of the Earl of Bothwell, imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh, 309.—Public disputation between Knox and the Abbot of Crossraguel, 311.

1563. Letter from Mary to Pope Pius iv., lamenting the damnable errors of Protestants in her kingdom ; Knox's third interview with Mary (at Lochleven), 316.—Prosecution of the Archbishop of Glasgow and forty-seven others for celebrating Mass and trying to restore Popery, 322.—Civil war in France, led by Mary's uncles, against the Huguenots, who were assisted by Queen Elizabeth.—Mary, Queen of Scots, carries all before her in the Parliament of 1563, 323.—Estrangement between Knox and the Earl of Moray, his leading supporter, 325.—Knox denounces the Queen's proposed marriage to Don Carlos, the epileptic son of Philip ii. of Spain, 326.—Knox's fourth interview with Mary in presence of John Erskine of Dun ; a stormy scene at Holyrood, 328.—The Papists released from prison ; circular letter by Knox calling the Faithful to the trial of two Edinburgh burgesses accused of disturbing the Mass at Holyrood, 337.—Trial of Knox for high treason before the Privy Council, 341.—Knox unanimously acquitted notwithstanding the Queen's angry protest, 348.—Knox's conduct approved by the General Assembly of 1563, 351.

1564. Rise of David Rizzio, 353.—Death of John Calvin at Geneva, aged fifty-five.

1565. Mary married her cousin Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley.

1566. Mary is alleged in this year to have joined the Catholic League for the extirpation of Protestantism throughout Europe ; Knox composed a large part of his *History of the Reformation in Scotland*.

1567. Murder of Lord Darnley ; marriage of Mary to Lord Bothwell, one of the ringleaders in the murder ; abdication of the Queen, and coronation of her son, James vi., a year old ; the Earl of Moray appointed Regent ; Act passed ratifying the Statutes of 1560, and declaring the Reformed Church the only church within the Realm.

1568. Flight of Mary to England.

1570. Assassination of the Regent Moray.

1572. 24th August. Massacre of St. Bartholomew.
„ 9th November. John Knox's last sermon.
„ 24th „ John Knox's death, aged sixty-seven.



3. John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, 'My most pious, able and devoted servant.'—*Mary, Queen of Scots*. (See pp. 102, 243.)

BOOK I

1528—1558

*From the Martyrdom of Master Patrick Hamilton in 1528,
to the Meeting of the Scots Parliament in 1558.*

THE FIRST BOOK of the
History of the Reformation of
Religion within the Realm of
Scotland; containing the manner and
by what persons the Light of Christ's
Evangel hath been manifested unto
this Realm, after that horrible and
universal defection from the Truth,
which has come by the means of
that Roman Antichrist.

From the Statute and ordinance That the Lamekes & y^e
aids
Dimonable openzoms of Grece & foked in d^{is} t^ulved
Be y^e Grete h^uger and h^ud d^{is}upell^{is} And y^e eating and
g^uer^{is} h^uger had f^uerliche p^ust in y^e L^uch^ust^u for y^e sam^u (W^ud best
g^uer^{is} be y^e and and and ad^u zit admitte any bonzoms
t^ulved y^e d^{is}upell^{is} but ad h^ud bone elow of all p^ust^u S
W^ud d^{is}upell^{is} y^eat na m^und of p^ust^u f^uer^{is} y^eat h^uger
to swerke w^u y^e p^ust^u W^ud any p^ust of y^e eating being w^u
y^eat any b^uke or w^uerly of y^eat h^uger d^{is}upell^{is}
d^{is}upell^{is} be or f^uer^{is} d^{is}upell^{is} or w^uerly d^{is}upell^{is} or w^uerly
f^uer^{is} w^uerly y^eat be to y^e d^{is}upell^{is} y^eat and y^e p^ust of effecting
w^uerly d^{is}upell^{is} and g^uer and putting of y^e d^{is}upell^{is} in p^ust^u.

4. 'Item.— It is statute and ordained, THAT forsaiekle (*Coramuel*) as damnable opinions of heresy are spread in divers countries by the heretic Luther and his disciples, and this Realm and lieges have firmly persisted in the Holy Faith since the same was first received by them, and never as yet admitted any opinions contrary the Christian Faith, but ever have been clean of all such filth and vice,— THEREFORE, that no manner of person, stranger, that happens to arrive with their ships within any part of this Realm (shall) bring with them any books or works of the said Luther (and) his disciples, or [shall] dispute or rehearse his heresies or opinions, but (*unless*) if it be to the confusion thereof, and that by clerks (*clergy*) in the Schools alenarly (*only*). Under the pain of escheating (*forfeiting*) of their ships and goods and putting of their persons in prison.' (*Act of the Scots Parliament*, 1555.) See page 4.

CHAPTER I

FROM THE MARTYRDOM OF PATRICK HAMILTON IN 1528, TO
THE BIRTH OF THE PRINCESS MARY, AFTERWARDS
QUEEN OF SCOTS, ON 8TH DECEMBER 1542.

AFTER the unhappy field of Flodden, in the which perished King James the Fourth, with the greatest part of the Nobility, James Beaton,¹ with the rest of the Prelates, had the whole regiment (*rule*) of the Realm. By reason thereof, they held and travailled to hold the truth of God in thralldom, till it pleased God of His great mercy, in the year of God 1527, to raise up His servant, MASTER PATRICK HAMILTON, at whom our History doth begin. Of his progeny, life, and erudition, because men of fame have in divers works written, we omit all curious repetition, sending such as would know farther of him to Francis Lambert, John Fryth, and that notable work, lately set forth by John Foxe, Englishman, of the Lives and Deaths of Martyrs within this Isle, in this our age.

Martyrdom of
Master Patrick
Hamilton, 1528.

This servant of God, Master Patrick Hamilton, being in his youth provided to reasonable honours and living—

¹ Archbishop of St. Andrews (1522-1539); uncle of the more famous Cardinal David Beaton. Dr. Magnus, the English Ambassador, writing to Cardinal Wolsey, on 9th January 1525, speaks of Beaton as 'the greatest man, both of lands and experience, within this realm,' and states that he was 'noted to be very subtil and dissimuling.' Beaton was the militant churchman who came to the Edinburgh street fight, known as 'Cleanse the Causeway,' wearing mail beneath his vestments. When Gawin Douglas, the poet-bishop of Dunkeld, besought Beaton to stay the impending conflict between the Hamilton and Douglas factions, he swore on his conscience that he knew nothing of it. His armour rattling as he struck his breast, called forth the rebuke, 'My Lord, your conscience CLATTERS (*tells tales*)!'

he was intitulate Abbot of Ferne—left Scotland, as one hating the world and the vanity thereof, and passed to the Schools in Germany. The fame of the University of Wittenberg was then greatly divulgate in all countries. There, by God's Providence, he became familiar with those lights and notable servants of Christ Jesns of that time, Martin Luther,¹ Philip Melanchthon, and the said Francis Lambert, and did so advance in godly knowledge, joined with fervency and integrity of life, that he was in admiration with many. The zeal of God's glory did so eat him up, that he could or no long continuance remain there, but returned to his country, where the bright beams of the True Light, which by God's Grace was planted in his heart, began most abundantly to burst forth, as well in public as in secret. He was, besides his godly knowledge, well learned in Philosophy. He abhorred Sophistry, and would that the text of Aristotle should have been better understood and more used in the Schools than it was: for Sophistry had corrupted all, as well in Divinity as in Humanity.

In short process of time, the fame of his reasons and doctrine troubled the clergy, and came to the ears of Archbishop James Beaton, who so travailled with (*worked upon*) Master Patrick, that he got him to St. Andrews, where, after the conference of divers days, he had his freedom. When the bishops and the clergy had fully understood the mind of Master Patrick, fearing that by him their kingdom should be endamaged, they travailled with the King [James v.], who then was young, and altogether addict to their commandment, that he should pass in pilgrimage to St. Duthac in Ross, to the end that no intercession should be made for

¹ Strenuous but unsuccessful efforts were made at this time to exelude Luther's works from Scotland. In 1525 the Scots Parliament prohibited their importation under severe penalties. The preamble of the Act runs as follows:—'Forasmuch as damnable opinions of heresy are spread in divers countries by the heretic Luther and his disciples, and this realm . . . has never as yet admitted any opinions contrary to the Christian faith, but ever has been *cleun of all such filth and vice*, etc. See the faesimile on page 2.

the life of the innocent servant of God. He, suspecting no such cruelty as in their hearts was concluded, remained still, a lamb amongst the wolves, till, upon a night, he was intercepted in his chamber, and by the Archbishop's band was carried to the Castle of St. Andrews. Upon the morn, produced in judgment, he was condemned to die by fire for the testimony of God's Truth.¹ The Articles for which he suffered were but of Pilgrimage, Purgatory, Prayers to Saints, and for the Dead, and such trifles; albeit that matters of greater importance had been in question, as his Treatise may witness. Now, that the condemnation of Master Patrick should have the greater authority, they caused the same to be subscribed by all those of any estimation that were present, and to make their number great, they took the subscriptions of children, if they were of the Nobility. The Earl of Cassillis, which last deceased in France, then being but twelve or thirteen years of age, was compelled to subscribe his death, as himself did confess.

At the place of execution Master Patrick gave to his servant, who had been chamber-child to him of a long time, his gown, his coat, bonnet, and such like garments, saying: 'These will not profit in the fire. They will profit thee. After this, of me thou canst receive no commodity, except the example of my death, which, I pray thee, bear in mind. Albeit it be bitter to the flesh, and fearful before men, yet is it the entress into eternal life, which none shall possess that deny Christ Jesus before this wicked generation.'

The innocent servant of God being bound to the stake in the midst of some coals, some timber, and other matter appointed for the fire, a train of powder was made and set on fire, which neither kindled the wood nor yet the coals. And so remained the appointed to death in torment, till men ran to the Castle again for more powder, and for wood

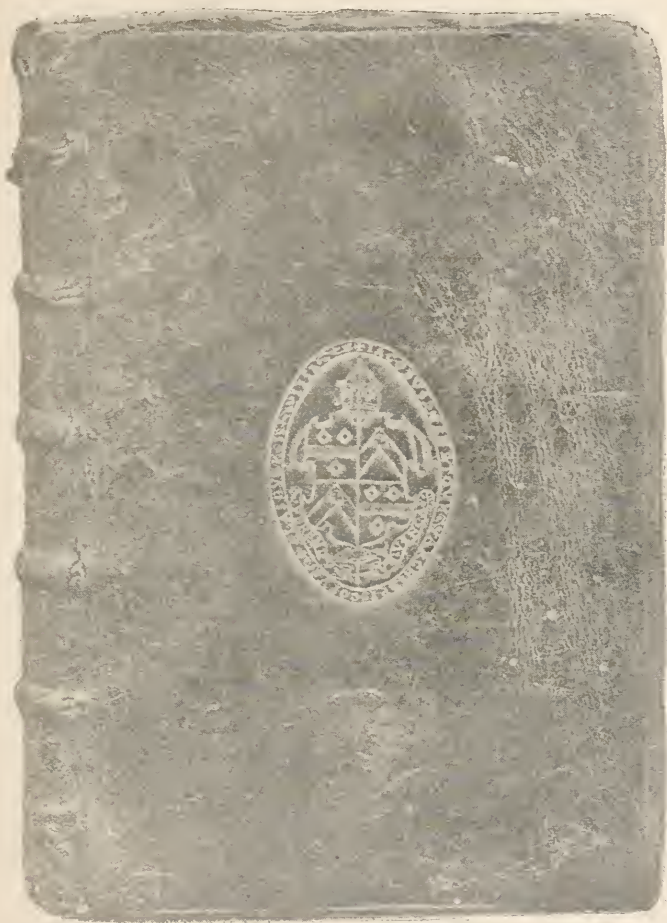
¹ Hamilton was only twenty-four years of age.

more able to take fire; which at last being kindled, with loud voice he cried: 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit! How long shall darkness overwhelm this Realm? How long wilt Thou suffer this tyranny of men?' The fire was slow, and therefore was his torment the more. But most of all was he grieved by certain wicked men, amongst whom Alexander Campbell, the Black Friar, was principal, who continually cried, 'Convert, heretic! Call upon our Lady! Say *Salve Regina*.' To whom he answered, 'Depart and trouble me not, ye messengers of Satan.' But while the foresaid Friar still roared, one thing in great vehemency Master Patrick said unto him: 'Wicked man, thou knowest the contrary, and the contrary to me thou hast confessed. I appeal thee before the Tribunal Seat of Jesus Christ!' After which and other words, which well could not be understood for the tumult, and the vehemency of the fire, this witness of Jesus Christ got victory, after long sufferance, the last of February, in the year of God, One thousand five hundred twenty and eight years.¹ The said Friar departed this life within few days after—in what estate we refer to the manifestation of the General Day! But it was plainly known that he died in Glasgow, in a frenzy, and as one despaired.

After the death of that constant witness of Jesus Christ, there was one Henry Forrest of Linlithgow [a Benedictine monk] taken, who, after long imprisonment in the Sea Tower of St. Andrews, was adjudged to the fire by Archbishop James Beaton and his Doctors, for none other crime but because he had a New Testament in English. Farther of that history we have not, except that he died constantly, and with great patience, at St. Andrews.

When these cruel wolves had, as they supposed, clean devoured the prey, they found themselves in worse case

¹ 'Though Patrick Hamilton was the Proto-martyr of Scotland, he was not the initiator of the Scottish Reformation. He was simply one of the many Scottish disciples of the German Reformer.'—*Cardinal Beaton*, by Rev. Professor HERKLESS, p. 92.



5. Bible which belonged to James Beaton, the last Roman Catholic Archbishop of Glasgow, at the time of the Reformation, nephew of Cardinal Beaton and grandnephew of James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews. The Archbishop's arms are on both sides, surrounded by the inscription 'Jacobus A. Betoun Archiepiscopus Glasguensis. 1552,' with the armorial motto 'Pereundum ut vincas.'

than before. Within St. Andrews, yea, almost within the whole Realm, there were none found hearing of that fact
 The blood of [the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton] who
 the Martyrs is began not to inquire, Wherefore was Master
 the seed of the Church. Patrick burned? And when his Articles of
 Accusation were rehearsed, question was holden, if such
 Articles were necessary to be believed under pain of
 damnation.

So, within short space, many began to call in doubt that which before they held for a certain verity. Insomuch the University of St. Andrews—St. Leonard's College principally—by the labours of Master Gavin Logie, Principal of St. Leonard's, and the novices of the Abbey, by the Sub-Prior, John Winram,¹ began to smell somewhat of the verity, and to espy the vanity of the received superstition. Yea, within a few years thereafter, began both Black and Grey Friars publicly to preach against the pride and idle life of the Bishops, and against the abuses of the whole Ecclesiastical Estate.

Amongst these friars was one called Friar William Arth, who, in a sermon preached in Dundee, spake somewhat more
 Friar Arth's
 Sermon on
 Cursing. liberally against the licentious lives of the
 Bishops nor (*than*) they could well bear. He
 spake farther against the abuse of Cursing
 (*Excommunication*) and of Miracles. The Bishop of Brechin, John Hepburn,² having his placeboes (*parasites*) and jackmen (*armed retainers*) in the town, buffeted the Friar, and called him 'Heretic.' The Friar, impatient of the injury received, passed to St. Andrews, and did communicate the heads of his

¹ Winram afterwards joined the Reformers, and was appointed Superintendent for Fife. Quintin Kennedy, the Abbot of Crossraguel, while admitting that Winram was 'wonderfully learned both in the New Testament, Old Testament, and meikle mair,' called him 'a pestilent preacher.'

² John Hepburn had a keen nose for heresy. In 1538, George Wishart fled the kingdom in consequence of a summons from Hepburn to appear before him. The only heresy alleged was that Wishart had taught the Greek New Testament in the school of Montrose!

sermon to Master John Major,¹ Provost of St. Salvator's College, whose word then was holden as an oracle in matters of religion. Being assured of him that such doctrine might well be defended, and that *he* would defend it, for it contained no heresy, there was a day appointed to the Friar to make repetition of the same sermon ; and advertisement was given to all such as were offended at the former to be present.

So, in the Parish Kirk of St. Andrews, upon the day appointed, appeared the said Friar, and had among his auditors Master John Major, Master George Lockhart, Rector of the University of St. Andrews, and Master Alexander Myln, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, and Master Patrick Hepburn, Prior of St. Andrews, with all the Doctors and Masters of the University. The theme of his sermon was, 'Verity is the strongest of all things.' His discourse of Cursing was : 'If it is rightly used, it is the most fearful thing upon the face of the earth ; for it is the very separation of man from God. But it should not be used rashly, or for every light cause, but only against open and incorrigible sinners. But now, the avarice of Priests, and the ignorance of their office, has caused it altogether to be vilipended. The priest, whose duty and office is to pray for the people, standeth up on Sunday, and crieth : "Ane hes tint a spurtill (*one has lost a porridge-stick*). Thair is ane flaill stollin from thame beyond the burne."² The goodwyiff of the other syd of

¹ This famous Doctor of the Sorbonne, one of the greatest scholars Scotland has produced, and the last of her Schoolmen, was an old man when the Reformation began. Mr. Æneas Mackay, in his 'Life of John Major,' prefixed to Mr. Constable's edition of Major's *Greater Britain*, takes the view that had John Major been twenty years younger, he might have played a leading part in that Reforming movement, which his liberal teaching—of constitutional and even democratic views in politics rather than of theology—had done much to originate.

² In David Buchanan's edition of John Knox's *History*, published at London in 1644, and reprinted at Edinburgh in the same year, these two sentences run thus : 'Anne has lost her spindle. There is a flail stolen behind the barn.' The sentence is also inaccurately printed in the edition printed in London by the French printer, Vautrollier, in 1586, and suppressed by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

the gait hes tynt a horne spune. Goddis maleson and myne I geve to thame that knowis of this geyre, and restoris it not." The people mock at such cursing !'

It was supposed, notwithstanding this kind of preaching, that Friar Arth remained Papist in his heart ; for the rest of the Friars, fearing to lose the benediction of the Bishops, to wit, their malt and their meal, and their other appointed pensions, caused the said Friar to flee to England, where, for defence of the Pope and Papistry, he was cast into prison at King Harry his commandment. But so it pleased God to open the mouth of Balaam's own ass, to cry out against the vicious lives of the clergy of that age !

Shortly after this, new consultation was taken, that some should be burned : for men began very liberally to speak. A merry gentleman named John Lyndsay, familiar to Archbishop James Beaton, standing by when consultation was had, said : ' My Lord, if ye burn any more, except ye follow my counsel, ye will utterly destroy yourselves. If ye *will* burn them, let them be burnt in how (*underground*) cellars ; for the reek (*smoke*) of Master Patrick Hamilton has infected as many as it blew upon !' Thus it pleased God that they should be taunted in their own faces.

So fearful was it then to speak anything against the priests that, albeit it was spoken in a man's sleep, the least word was judged heresy. That was practised upon Richard Carmichael, yet alive in Fife,¹ who being young, and a singer in the Chapel Royal of Striveling (*Stirling*), happened in his sleep to say, ' The Devil take away the Priests ; for they are a greedy pack !' He was accused therefor by Sir George Clapperton, Sub-dean of the Chapel Royal, and was compelled forthwith to burn his bill (*make recantation*).

But God shortly after raised up against them stronger champions. Alexander Seton, a Black Friar of good learning and estimation, began to tax the corrupt doctrine of

¹ That is in 1566, when this part of the *History* was written.

the Papistry. For the space of a whole Lentran (*Lent*) he taught the Commandments of God only, ever beating into the ears of his auditors, that the Law of God had for many years not been truly taught; for men's traditions had obscured its purity.

The witty
Preaching
Friar.

These were his accustomed propositions:—*First*. Christ Jesus is the end and perfection of the Law. *Second*. There is no sin where God's Law is not violated. *Third*. To satisfy for sin lies not in man's power, but the remission thereof cometh by unfeigned repentance, and by faith apprehending God the Father, merciful in Christ Jesus, His Son. But he made no mention of Purgatory, Pardons, Pilgrimage, Prayers to Saints, nor such trifles. So the dumb Doctors and the rest of that forsworn rabble began to suspect him.

Yet said they nothing publicly, till Lent was ended, and he passed to Dundee.

Then in his absence, one hired for that purpose openly damned the whole doctrine that Friar Seton had taught. Which coming to the ears of the said Friar in Dundee, without delay he returned to St. Andrews, caused immediately to jow (*ring*) the bell, and to give signification that he would preach. That he did indeed; and in his sermon he affirmed that within Scotland there were no true Bishops, if Bishops should be known by such notes and virtues as Sanct Paul requireth in Bishops. This delation (*accusation*) flew with wings to the ears of Archbishop Beaton.



6. A Preaching Friar.

Without delay he sent for the Friar, and began grievously to complain that the Friar had so slanderously spoken of the dignity of the Bishops, as to say that 'It behoved a Bishop to be a preacher, or else he was but a dumb dog, and fed not the flock, but fed his own belly.'

The Friar being witty, as well as mindful of that which was his most assured defence, said, 'My Lord, the reporters of such things are manifest liars.' Whereat the Archbishop rejoiced and said: 'Your answer pleaseth me well. I never could think ye would be so foolish as to affirm such things. Where are the knaves that have brought me this tale?' Who compearing, and affirming the same that they did before, the Friar still replied that they were liars. But when the witnesses were multiplied, he turned to the Archbishop and said: 'My Lord, ye may consider what ears these asses have, who can not discern betwixt Paul, Isaiah, Zechariah, Malachi, and Friar Alexander Seton! In very deed, my Lord, I said that *Paul* saith, "It behoveth a Bishop to be a teacher"; and that *Isaiah* saith, "They that feed not the flock are dumb dogs"; and that *Zechariah* saith, "They are idle pastors." Of mine own head I affirmed nothing, but declared what the Spirit of God had before pronounced; at whom, my Lord, if ye be not offended, justly ye can not be offended at me! So, yet again, my Lord, I say, that they are manifest liars that reported unto you that *I* said, "That you and others that preach not are no Bishops, but belly gods."'¹

¹ Such satire was not confined to men of the Reformed opinions. Quintin Kennedy, the Catholic apologist already mentioned, describing the system by which benefices were filled, wrote: 'When grasping noblemen have gotten a benefice, if they have a brother or son who can neither sing nor say, nourished in vice all his days, he shall be immediately mounted on a mule, with a side (*long*) gown and a round bonnet; and then it is a question whether he or his mule knows best to do his office!' In 1549 a Provincial Council of the Catholic clergy that met in Edinburgh found that 'the two roots and causes' of all the troubles in the Church were 'the corrupt manners and profane lewdness of ecclesiastical persons of almost all ranks, together with their crass ignorance of letters and all culture.' (Compare MILTON'S *Lycidas*, line 113 *et seq.*)

The Archbishop was highly offended, as well at the scoff and bitter mock, as at the bold liberty of that learned man. Yet durst he not hazard for that present to execute his malice. Not only feared he the learning and bold spirit of the man, but also the favour that he had as well of the people as of the Prince. Seton had good credit with King James the Fifth; for he was at that time his Confessor, and had exhorted him to the fear of God, to the meditation of God's Law, and to purity of life. So the Archbishop, with his complices, foreseeing what danger might come to their estate, if such familiarity should continue betwixt the Prince and a man so learned, and so repugnant to their affections, laboured by all means to make him odious to the King's Grace. For this they easily found means by the Grey Friars, who, by their hypocrisy, deceived many, to traduce the innocent Friar as a heretic.

The accusation was easily received and more easily believed by the carnal Prince, who altogether was given to the lusts of the flesh, and abhorred all counsel that repugned thereto. He remembered what a terror the admonitions of the said Alexander were to his corrupted conscience, and without resistance he subscribed to their accusation, affirming that he knew more than they did in that matter; for he understood well enough, that the Friar smelt of the New Doctrine, by things shown to him under confession. Therefore the King promised that he should follow the counsel of the Bishops in punishing the Friar and all others of that sect. Alexander understood these things as well by information of his friends and familiars, as by the strange countenance of the King unto him; and he provided the nighest way to avoid the fury of a blinded prince. In his habit [of a Dominican], he departed the Realm, and coming to Berwick, wrote back to the King's Grace his Complaint and Admonition, offering to come into the King's Realm again, if His Grace would give him audience, and saying that the King might cause any Bishop or Abbot, Friar or Secular,

which is most cunning—some of them who are made judges in heresy cannot read their matins!—to impugn him by the law of God. Seton remained in England, and publicly, with great praise and comfort of many, taught the Evangel.

In this mid-time—so did the wisdom of God provide—Harry the Eighth, King of England, did abolish from his realm the name and authority of the Pope of Rome, and suppressed the Abbeyes and other places of idolatry, with their idols, which gave great esperance to divers realms that some godly reformation should have ensued. Therefore, from this our country did learned men and others that lived in fear of persecution repair to England. There, albeit they found not such purity as they wished, yet they escaped the tyranny of merciless men, and were reserved to better times.¹

Divers sought other countries. Alexander Alesius, Master John Fyfe, and that famous man, Doctor Macchabeus (*Macalpine*), departed to Dutchland (*Germany*), where by God's Providence they were distributed to several places. James Macdowell, for his singular prudence, besides his learning and godliness, was elected Burgomaster in one of the States [in North Holland]. Alesius was appointed to the University of Lipsia (*Leipzig*), and so was Master John Fyfe; where, for their honest behaviour and great erudition, they were holden in admiration with all the godly. In what honour, credit, and estimation Doctor Macchabeus was with Christian, King of Denmark—the town of Cawpmanhoven (*Copenhagen*), and famous men of divers nations testify.

These notable men did never after—Master John Fyfe only excepted—comfort this country with their bodily

¹ 'Daily cometh unto me some Gentlemen and some Clerks, which do flee out of Scotland, as they say for reading of Scripture in English; saying that, if they were taken, they should be put to execution. I give them gentle words, and to some money.'—*Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, to Lord Cromwell, from Berwick, 29th March 1539.*

presence. Yet God made them fructify in His Church, and raised them up lights out of darkness, to the praise of His own mercy, and to the just condemnation of them that then ruled, to wit, of the King, Council, and Nobility, yea, of the whole people, who suffered such notable personages, without crimes committed, to be unjustly persecuted and so exiled.

No sooner got the Bishops opportunity, which allwise they sought, but so soon renewed they the battle against Jesus Christ. The foresaid leprous Bishop of St. Andrews, in the year of God 1534, caused to be summoned, with divers others, David Straton, a Gentleman, and Master Norman Gourlay, a man of reasonable erudition. In Master Norman appeared knowledge, albeit joined with weakness. But in David Straton could only be espied, at the first, hatred against the pride and avariciousness of the priests. The cause of his delation was:—Straton had made to himself a fish-boat to go to the sea. The Bishop of Moray, then Prior of St. Andrews, and his factors, urged him for the teind thereof. His answer was, If they would have teind of that which his servants won in the sea, it were but reason, that they should come and receive it where his servants got the stock. And so, as was constantly affirmed, he caused his servants cast the tenth fish into the sea again! Process of cursing was led against him, for non-payment of such teinds; which, when he contemned, he was delated to answer for heresy. It troubled him vehemently; and therefore he began to frequent the company of such as were godly. Before, he had been a man very stubborn, and one that despised all reading, chiefly of those things that were godly. But, miraculously as it were, he appeared to be changed. He delighted in nothing but in hearing of reading—for himself could not read—and was a vehement exhorter of all men to concord, to quietness, and to contempt of the world. He frequented much the

Archbishop
Beaton burns
David Straton
and Norman
Gourlay, 1534.

company of the Laird of Dun, John Erskine,¹ whom God in those days had marvellously illuminated.

Upon a day, as the Laird of Lauriston, who yet lives, then being a young man, was reading the New Testament unto David Straton in a certain quiet place in the fields, as God had appointed, he chanced to read these sentences of our Master, Jesus Christ: 'He that denieth Me before men, or is ashamed of Me in the midst of this wicked generation, I will deny him in the presence of My Father, and before His angels.' At which words, David Straton suddenly, being as one ravished, platt (*cast*) himself upon his knees, and extending both hands and visage constantly to heaven a reasonable time, at length he burst forth in these words: 'O Lord, I have been wicked, and justly mayst Thou abstract Thy grace from me. But, Lord, for Thy merey's sake, let me never deny Thee, nor Thy truth, for fear of death or corporal pain.' The issue declared that his prayer was not vain; for when he, with Master Norman Gourlay, was produced in judgment in the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, the King himself, all clad in red, being present, great labours were made that David Straton should have recanted. But he, ever standing to his defence, and alleging that he had not offended, was adjudged unto the fire. When he perceived his danger, he asked grace of the King, which he would willingly have granted unto him. But the Bishops proudly answered, That the King's hands were bound, and that the King had no grace to give to such as by their law were condemned.

So was he with Master Norman, after dinner, upon the twenty-seventh day of August, the year of God 1534, led to a place beside the Rood (*Cross*) of Greenside [at the

¹ Erskine is frequently mentioned by Knox. Although a layman, he was clected on at least five separate occasions Moderator of the General Assembly. He combined the most resolute support of the Reformed opinions with a consistently gentle treatment of those who adhered to the Catholic Church. Mary spoke of him as 'a mild and sweet-natured man, with true honesty and uprightness.' George Buchanan refers to him in his *History of Scotland* as 'homo doctus, et perinde pius et humanus.'

Calton Hill of Edinburgh]; and there they two were both hanged and burned, according to the mercy of the Papistical Kirk! To the same diet were summoned others, of whom some fled to England, and so, for that present, escaped the death.

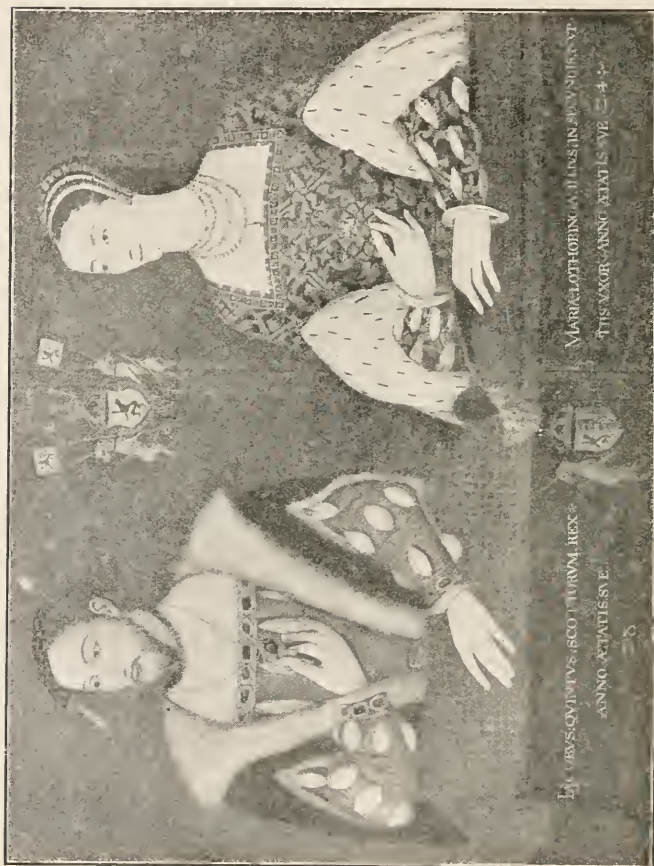
Notwithstanding this their tyranny, the knowledge of God did wondrously increase within this Realm, partly by reading, partly by brotherly conference, which in those dangerous days was used to the comfort of many; but chiefly by merchants and mariners, who, frequenting other countries, heard the True Doctrine affirmed, and the vanity of the Papistical Religion openly rebuked. Amongst these were Dundee and Leith principals, against whom was made a very straight inquisition by David Beaton, the cruel Cardinal;¹ and divers were compelled to abjure and burn their bills (*make recantation*), some in St. Andrews and some in Edinburgh. About the same time Captain Sir John Borthwick was burned in figure (*effigy*), but, by God's Providence, escaped their fury [to England]. This was done for a spectacle and triumph to Mary of Lorraine, lately arrived from France, as wife to James the Fifth, King of Scots.² What plagues she brought

Merchants
and Mariners
spread the
True Doc-
trine.

¹ But for Cardinal Beaton—the Wolsey of Scotland, the one man of commanding ability among the Scots Roman Catholic clergy—it seems probable that the Scottish Reformation would have been contemporaneous with the English. Chiefly through his influence, the plans of Henry VIII. for uniting the two kingdoms, by bringing up Mary of Scots in England and marrying her to Edward VI., were frustrated. To the policy devised by Beaton of educating Mary in France under the influence of the family of Guise, and in the corrupt atmosphere of the French Court, may be traced all her misfortunes. Beaton did not live to see the issue; but his plans all miscarried. Had he survived the Reformation, the sorest blow of all would have been to see his illegitimate son, Alexander, become a Protestant minister.

² Daughter of the Duke of Guise, and widow of the Duke of Longueville. The inclination which James V. at one time showed for the Reformed opinions ceased on his marriage to a member of one of the most fanatically Catholic families in Europe. Knox throughout treats Mary of Guise simply as the ally of Cardinal Beaton and the opponent of Protestantism, ignoring her many attractive personal qualities and the difficulties of her position, as

with her, and how they yet continue, such as are not blind may manifestly see!



7. James the Fifth and Mary of Guise, father and mother of Mary, Queen of Scots. From a picture in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Hardwicke. (See p. 17.)

well as the favourable contrast which her conduct as a widowed queen presented to that of her predecessor, Queen Margaret Tudor, widow of James IV., and to that of her own daughter Mary, Queen of Scots, widow first of the King of France, and then of Lord Darnley.

The rage of those bloody beasts proceeded so far that the King's Court itself escaped not the danger. In it divers were suspected, and some accused. Yet ever still did some light burst out in the midst of darkness; for the Truth of Christ Jesus entered even into the Cloisters, as well of Friars, as of Monks and Canons. John Lyn, a Grey Friar, left his hypocritical habit, and the den of those murderers, the Grey Friars. A Black Friar, called Friar Kyllour, set forth the history of Christ's Passion in form of a Play, which he both preached and practised openly in Stirling, the King himself being present upon a Good Friday in the morning. In this, all things were so lively expressed that the very simple people understood and confessed, that as the Priests and obstinate Pharisees persuaded the people to refuse Christ Jesus, and caused Pilate to condemn him, so did the bishops, and men called religious, blind the people, and persuade princes and judges to persecute such as professed Jesus Christ His blessed Evangel.

Passion Play
at Stirling.

This plain speaking so enflamed the hearts of all that bare the Beast's Mark, that they ceased not, till Friar Kyllour, and with him Friar Beveridge, Sir Duncan Symson, Robert Forrester, a Gentleman, and Dean Thomas Forrest, Canon Regular [in the Monastery of St. Colm's Inch] and Vicar of Dollar, a man of upright life, all together were cruelly murdered in one fire, the last day of February, in the year of God 1538.

Martyrdom of
Priests,
Friars, and
Gentlemen,
1538.

After this cruelty was used upon the Castle Hill of Edinburgh—to the effect that the rest of the Bishops might shew themselves no less fervent to suppress the light of God than he of St. Andrews¹ was—two were apprehended

¹ At the Reformation, Edinburgh was within the diocese of St. Andrews, which was erected into an Archbishopric in 1471. Edinburgh had no separate bishop of its own. St. Giles was not a cathedral, but a collegiate church, with a provost, a curate, sixteen prebendaries, a sacristan, a minister of the choir, and four choristers. Edinburgh was the political, but St. Andrews the ecclesiastical, capital of Scotland.

in the Diocese of Glasgow. The one was named Jeronimus Russell, a Cordelier friar (*Franciscan*), a young man of a meek nature, quick spirit, and good letters; and one Kennedy, who passed not eighteen years of age, one of excellent injyne (*genius*) in Scottish poesy. To assist the Bishop of Glasgow in that cruel judgment, or at least to cause him dip his hands in the blood of the Saints of God, were sent Master John Lauder, Archdeacon of Teviotdale, Master Andrew Oliphant Secretary to Cardinal Beaton, and Friar Maltman, sergeants of Satan, apt for that purpose.

The day appointed to their cruelty having approached, the two poor saints of God were presented before those bloody butchers; and grievous were the crimes that were laid to their charge. Kennedy at the first was faint, and gladly would have recanted. But while place of repentance was denied him, the Spirit of God, which is the Spirit of all comfort, began to work in him, yea, the inward comfort began to burst forth, as well in visage as in tongue and word. His countenance began to be cheerful, and, with a joyful voice, upon his knees, he said: ‘O Eternal God! How wondrous is that Love and Mercy that Thou bearest unto mankind, and unto me the most caitiff and miserable wretch above all others! Even now, when I would have denied Thee, and Thy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, my only Saviour, and so have casten myself into everlasting damnation, Thou, by Thine own hand, hast pulled me from the very bottom of Hell, and made me to feel that heavenly comfort which takes from me that ungodly fear, wherewith before I was oppressed. Now I defy death. Do what ye please! I praise my God I am ready.’

The godly and learned Jeronimus, railed upon by these godless tyrants, answered: ‘This is your hour and the power of darkness. Now sit ye as judges; and we stand wrongfully accused, and more wrongfully to be condemned. But the day shall come when our innocency shall appear, and ye shall see your own blindness, to your everlasting confusion. Go

forward and fulfil the measure of your iniquity!’ While these servants of God thus behaved themselves, a variance arose betwixt the Bishop of Glasgow, Gawin Dunbar, and the Beasts that came from the Cardinal. The Bishop said, ‘I think it better to spare these men, than to put them to death.’ Whereat the idiot Doctors, offended, said: ‘What will ye do, my Lord? Will ye condemn all that my Lord Cardinal, and the other Bishops and we have done? If so ye do, ye show yourself enemy to the Kirk and us; and so we will repute you, be ye assured.’ At which words, the faithless man, affrayed, adjudged the innocents to die, according to the desire of the wicked. The meek and gentle Jerome Russell comforted the other with many comfortable sentences, oft saying unto him: ‘Brother, fear not! More potent is He that is in us, than he that is in the world. The pain that we shall suffer is short, and shall be light; but our joy and consolation shall never have end. Therefore let us contend to enter in unto our Master and Saviour by the same Strait Way, which He hath trod before us. Death can not destroy us; for it is destroyed already by Him for whose sake we suffer.’ With these and the like comfortable sentences, they passed to the place of execution, and constantly triumphed over Death and Satan, even in the midst of the flaming fire.¹

So far had that blinded and most vicious man, the Prince [James v.], given himself to obey the tyranny of those bloody beasts, that he had made a solemn The King's Visions. vow that none should be spared that was suspect of heresy, yea, although it were his own son. Yet did not God cease to give to that blinded Prince documents (*signs*) that some sudden plague was to fall upon him, in case he did not repent his wicked life. For after Sir James

¹ ‘There was at Dunfries lately one Friar Jerom, called a well-learned man, taken by the Lord Maxwell upon commandment from the Bishops, and lieth in sore irons, like to suffer for the Englishmen’s opinions. It passeth abroad daily, thanks be to God there, all that same notwithstanding.’—*Sir Thomas Wharton to Lord Cromwell*, 7th November 1538.

Hamilton of Finnart, Captain of Linlithgow Palace, was beheaded—justly or unjustly we dispute not—this vision came unto him, as he himself did declare to his familiars:—Sir James appeared unto him, having in his hand a drawn sword, with which from the King he struck off both arms, saying, ‘Take that, while (*until*) thou receivest a final payment for all thine impiety!’ This vision, with sorrowful countenance, he showed in the morn; and shortly thereafter died his two sons, both within the space of twenty-four hours, yea, some say, within the space of six hours.

How terrible a vision the said Prince saw, lying in Linlithgow, that night [in 1539] that Thomas Scott, Justice Clerk, died in Edinburgh, men of good credit can yet report. Affrayed at midnight, he cried aloud for torches, and raised all that lay beside him in the Palace, and told them that Tom Scott was dead; for he had been at him with a company of devils, and had said unto him these words: ‘O, woe to the day that ever I knew thee, or thy service! For serving of thee against God, against His servants, and against Justice, I am adjudged to endless torment!’ How terrible voices the said Thomas Scott pronounced before his death, men of all estates heard; and some that yet live can witness. His voice was ever, ‘*Justo Dei judicio condemnatus sum*’: I am condemned by God’s just judgment. He was most oppressed for the delation and false accusation of such as professed Christ’s Evangel. Master Thomas Marjoribanks of Ratho, and Master Hugh Rigg of Carberry, then advocates, confessed this to Master Henry Balnaves. From the said Thomas Scott they came to him, as he and Master Thomas Bellenden [Scott’s successor as Justice Clerk] were sitting in Saint Giles Kirk, and asked him forgiveness in the name of the said Thomas.

None of these terrible forewarnings could mollify the heart of the indurate tyrant: and still the said Prince did proceed from impiety to impiety. For, in the midst of these admonitions, the King caused put hands on that

notable man, Master George Balquhannan (*Buchanan*),¹ to whom, for his singular erudition and honest behaviour, was committed the charge to instruct some of his bastard children. But by the merciful Providence of God he escaped, albeit with great difficulty, the rage of them that sought his blood, and remains alive to this day, in the year of God 1566, to the glory of God, to the great honour of his nation, and to the comfort of them that delight in letters and virtue. His singular work of David's Psalms in Latin metre and poesy, besides many others, can witness the rare graces of God given to that man, which that tyrant, by instigation of the Grey Friars, and of his other flatterers, would altogether have devoured, if God had not provided remedy to His servant by escaping.

Narrowescape
of George
Buchanan.

This cruelty and persecution notwithstanding, the Grey Friars, day by day, came farther into contempt. Not only did the learned espy and detest their abominable hypocrisy, but also men, in whom no such graces or gifts were thought to have been, began plainly to paint the same forth to the people; as

Lord Glen-
cairn on the
Grey Friars.

¹ In his *Life of George Buchanan*, Dr. Hume Brown brings out the importance to the Reformation cause in Scotland of the adhesion of George Buchanan, a scholar and poet of European eminence, and Queen Mary's Poet Laureate. Mary endowed him with the revenues of Crossraguel, and he continued on terms of great intimacy with her, till the share which he believed she had in the murder of Darnley turned his friendly feelings into indignation and contempt. 'The Queen readeth daily after her dinner, instructed by a learned man, Master George Buchanan, somewhat of Livy.'—*Letter from Thomas Randolph, English Ambassador at the Scottish Court, to Sir William Cecil, Queen Elizabeth's Chief Secretary of State, 7th April 1562.* Buchanan represented the intellectual side of the great revolt against Authority in Scotland in the sixteenth century—the Renaissance; and Knox the theological—the Reformation. 'If the Church of Scotland had a Luther in Knox, it had an Erasmus in the wide and polished culture of George Buchanan.'—*Dean Stanley.* When James VI. addressed the University of Edinburgh at Stirling, he said: 'All the world knows that my master, George Buchanan, was a great master in Latin learning. I follow his pronunciation, both of his Latin and Greek, and am sorry that my people of England do not the like; for certainly their pronunciation utterly fails the grace of these two

this rhyme, made by Alexander, Earl of Glencairn,¹ yet alive, can witness, entitled—

‘AN EPISTLE DIRECTED FROM THE HOLY HERMIT OF
ALAREIT (*Loretto, near Musselburgh*) TO HIS
BRETHREN THE GREY FRIARS.²

‘ I, Thomas, hermit in Larite,
Saint Francis’ order do heartily greet,
Beseeching you with firm intent,
To be walkryfe (*watchful*) and diligent :
For these Lutherians, risen of new,
Our Order daily do pursue.
These smaikis (*mean fellows*) do set their haille intent,
To read the English New Testament.
They say, we have them clean disceavit ;
Therefore, in haste they maun (*must*) be stoppit !
Our state, “hypocrisie,” they prize (*reckon*),
And us blasphemis on this wyse :—

learned languages.’ In June 1567, Buchanan was elected Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, one of the few laymen who have ever held that office. He was born the year after John Knox, and survived him for ten years.

¹ In 1543 Lord Glencairn was in England ; and Sir Ralph Sadler, English Ambassador in Edinburgh, wrote of him to Henry VIII : ‘ In my poor opinion, there be few such Scots in Scotland, both for his wisdom and learning, and well dedicate to the truth of Christ’s word and doctrine ’—(*Sadler’s Papers*, vol. i. p. 83). ‘ The acute Sadler,’ as Sir Walter Scott remarks, ‘ discerned the germs of those qualities which afterwards made this nobleman the great promoter of the Reformation, and in consequence a steady adherent of the English interest ’ (*ibid.*). Lord Glencairn had one fault. In forwarding one of his letters to Henry VIII., Sadler sent a copy, explaining that Glencairn’s letter, ‘ being written with his own hand, is *therefore* not legible ! ’

² Among the great leaders of the Scottish Reformation whose fame has been unduly overshadowed by that of John Knox, one of the most remarkable was the Paduan Doctor of Laws, John Row. He was first led to entertain doubts regarding the old opinions by his discovery of a fraud practised by the priests at the Chapel near Musselburgh, dedicated to Our Lady of Loretto, in pretending to have restored the sight of a boy whom they falsely affirmed to have been born blind. Knox’s preaching finally confirmed him in the new doctrines.

Saying, That we are heretikes,
 And false, loud-lying mastiff tykes,
 Stout fishers with the Fiend's net,
 The upclosers of Heaven's yett (*gate*),
 Cankered corrupters of the Creed,
 Hemlock-sowers amongst good seed,
 Kirk men that are to Christ unkent,
 A sect that Satan's self has sent !

I dread this doctrine, if it last,
 Shall either gar (*make*) us work or fast ;
 Therefore, with speed we must provide,
 And not our profit overslide.

Your Order handles no money ;
 But for other casualty,
 As beef, meal, butter, and cheese,
 Or what else ye have, that ye please,
 Send your Brethren, *et habete*.
 As now nought else, but *valete* !

By Thomas your brother at command,
 A cullurune kythed (*silly fellow exhibited*) through
 many a land.'

When God had given to that indurate Prince sufficient documents that his rebellion against His Blessed Evangel should not prosperously succeed, He raised up against him war, as He did against obstinate Saul, in which he miserably perished.

War between
 James V. and
 Henry VIII.

The occasion of the war was this. Harry the Eighth, King of England, had a great desire to have spoken with our King ; and in that point travailed long till he got a full promise made to his Ambassador, Lord William Howard. The place of meeting was appointed at York, which the King of England kept with such solemnity and preparations as never, for such a purpose, was seen in England before. Great bruit (*report*) of that journey, and some preparation for the same, was made in Scotland ; but in the end, by

persuasion of the Cardinal Beaton¹ and by others of his faction, that journey was stayed, and the King's promise falsified. Whereupon were sharp letters of reproach sent unto the King, and also unto his Council. King Harry, frustrate, returned to London, and, after his indignation declared, began to fortify with men his frontiers foreanent (*over against*) Scotland. There were sent to the Borders Sir Robert Bowes, the Earl of Angus, and his brother, Sir George Douglas. Upon what other trifling questions, as the debatable land and such like, the war broke out, we omit to write—the principal occasion was the falsifying of the promises before made.

All men—fools, we mean—bragged of victory. And, in very deed, the beginning gave us a fair show. For at the first Warden Raid, which was made at the Saint Bartholomew's Day, 1542, was the Warden, Sir Robert Bowes, and his brother Richard Bowes, Captain of Norham,² with Sir William Mowbray, knight, a bastard son of the Earl of Angus, and James Douglas of Parkhead, then rebels, and a great number of borderers, soldiers, and gentlemen taken.

This was termed the Raid of Halden Rig. The Earl of Angus, and Sir George his brother, did narrowly escape. Our Papists and Priests, prond of this victory, encouraged the King, so that there was nothing heard but 'All is ours! They are but heretics. If we be a thousand, and they ten thousand, they dare not fight. France shall enter the one part, and we the other; and so shall England be conquest within a year!' If any man was seen to smile at such vanity, he was a 'traitor' and a 'heretic'! Yet by these

¹ The Cardinal always took care to keep out of Henry's clutches. When the Earl of Arran became Governor, the English envoy, Sir Ralph Sadler, proposed to him that the Cardinal should be kidnapped and sent to England. 'Hereat,' writes Sir Ralph, 'the Governor laughed, and said, "the Cardinal had liefer go into hell!"' If Mary's misfortunes can be traced to the Cardinal's policy of antagonism to England and to Protestantism, so may the war with England, which ended at Solway Moss so disastrously for Mary's father and for Scotland.

² Father of Marjorie Bowes, Knox's first wife.

means, men had greater liberty than they had before, as concerning their conscience ; for then ceased the Persecution.

At the Palace of Holyroodhouse was a new Council convened—a Council, we mean, of the King's abusers (*corrupters*) and flatterers; wherein were accusations laid against the most part of the Nobility,—that some were heretics, some favourers of England, some friends to the Douglas; and so could there be none faithful to the King, in their opinion. The Cardinal and the priests cast faggots on the fire with all their force: and finding the King wholly addict to their devotion, delivered to him a Scroll, containing the names of such as they, in their Inquisition, had convict for Heretics. This was the order of justice which these holy fathers kept in damning of innocent men:—Whosoever would delate (*accuse*) any of heresy, he was heard. No respect nor consideration had they what mind the delator bare to the person delated. Whosoever were produced for witnesses were admitted, how suspicious and infamous so ever they were. If two or three had proven any point, which by their law was holden heresy, that was a heretic. Rested no more but a day to be affixed to his condemnation, and to the execution of their corrupt sentence. What man could be innocent, where such judges were party, the world may this day consider!

The same Scroll had the Cardinal and Prelates once before presented to the King, what time he returned from the navigation about the Isles. But then it was refused by the prudent and stout counsel of the Laird of Grange, James Kirkcaldy, the High Treasurer, who opened clearly to the King the practices of the Prelates, and the danger that thereof might ensue. Which considered by the King—for, being out of his passion, he was tractable—he gave this answer, an answer worthy of a Prince, in the Palace of Holyroodhouse, to the Cardinal and Prelates after they had uttered their malice, and shown what profit might arise to the Crown if he would

follow their counsel:—‘Pack you, Jefwellis!’¹ Get ye to your charges and reform your own lives, and be not instruments of discord betwixt my Nobility and me. Else, I vow to God, I shall reform you, not as the King of Denmark by imprisonment doth, neither yet as the King of England doth both by hanging and heading; but I shall reform you by sharp whingers (*swords*), if ever I hear such motion of you again!’²

The Prelates, dashed and astonished with this answer, ceased for a season to attempt any further by rigour against the Nobility. But now, being informed of all proceedings by their pensioners, Oliver Sinclair of Pitcairns, Governor of Tantallon Castle, John Ross, Laird of Craigie, and others, who were to them faithful in all things, they conclude to hazard once again their former suit. This was no sooner proponed but as soon it was accepted, with no small regret made by the King’s own mouth, that he had so long despised their counsel. ‘Now,’ said he, ‘I plainly see your words to be true. The Nobility neither desire my honour nor continuance; for they would not ride a mile for my pleasure to follow my enemies. Will ye therefore find me the means how I may have a raid made into England, without their knowledge and consent, that may be known to be my own raid; and I shall bind me to your counsel for ever?’ There concurred together Ahab and his false prophets; there were gratulations and clapping of hands; there were promises of diligence, closeness, and fidelity. Finally, conclusion was taken, that the West Borders of England, which were most empty of men and garrisons, should be invaded. The King’s own banner should be there; Oliver Sinclair, the great

¹ ‘A contemptuous term, the proper meaning of which seems to be now lost.’—JAMESON’S *Scottish Dictionary*. ‘Jewels’ in *Christ’s Kirk on the Green*, and in Dunbar’s *Poems*, seems the same word. Query *devils*?

² ‘The King of Scots did call upon the Bishop of Glasgow, being Chancellor, and divers other Bishops, exhorting them to reform their fashions and manners of living, saying that unless they so did, he would send six of the proudest of them unto his uncle of England; and, as these were ordered, so he would order all the rest that would not amend.’—*Sir William Eure to Lord Cromwell, from Berwick, 26th January 1540.*

minion, should be General-Lieutenant, but no man should be privy of the enterprise, except the Council that was then present, till the very day and execution thereof. The Bishops gladly took the charge of that Raid. Letters were sent to such as they would charge to meet the King, day and place appointed. The Cardinal, with the Earl of Arran, was directed to go to Haddington, to make a show against the East Border, when the others were in readiness to invade the West. And thus neither lacked counsel, practice, closeness, nor diligence to set forward that enterprise.

Amongst these consulters there was no doubt or good success; and so was the Scroll thankfully received by the King himself, and put in his own pocket, where it remained to the day of his death, and then was found. In it were contained more than one hundred landed men, besides others of meaner degree, amongst whom was the Lord Hamilton himself [the Earl of Arran, afterwards Duke of Chatelherault], then second person of the Realm [as heir-presumptive to the throne], delated.

The night before the day appointed to the enterprise, the King was found at Lochmaben. To him came companies from all quarters, as they were appointed. No man knew of another; for no general proclamation passed but privy letters; neither yet did the multitude know anything of the purpose till after midnight, when the trumpet blew, and commanded all men to march forward, and to follow the King, who was constantly supposed to be in the host. Guides were appointed to conduct them towards England, as both faithfully and closely they did. Upon the point of day they approached the enemy's ground; and so passed the Water [the Solway] without any great resistance. The foray goes forth; fire rises; herschip (*plundering*) might have been seen on every side. The unprovided people were altogether amazed; for, bright day appearing, they saw an army of ten thousand men, and their corn and houses upon every side sending flames of fire unto heaven.

The Battle of
Solway Moss,
1542.

To them it was more than a wonder, that such a multitude could have been assembled and convoyed, no knowledge thereof coming to any of their Wardens. For support they looked not; and so, at the first, they were utterly despaired. Yet began they to assemble together, ten in one company, twenty in another; and so, as the fray proceeded, their troops increased, but to no number; for Carlisle, fearing



8. Duke of Chatelherault (Regent Arran), by Ketel. (See pp. 29, 44.)

Heir to the throne, before the birth of James VI., after Mary, Queen of Scots.

assault, suffered no man to issue out of their yetts (*gates*). So the greatest number [of the countrymen] that ever appeared before the discomfiture, passed not three or four hundred. Yet they made hot skirmishing, as in their own ground they are most expert. About ten hours, when fires were kindled and almost slockened (*quenched*) on every side, thought Oliver time to show his glory. So incontinent (*forthwith*) was displayed the King's Banner; and Oliver, lifted up upon spears upon men's shoulders, was there, with sound of trumpet, proclaimed General-Lieutenant, and all

men commanded to obey him, as the King's own person, under all highest pains. There was present the Lord Maxwell, Warden, to whom the regiment (*command*), in absence of the King, properly appertained. He heard and saw all, but thought more nor he spake. There were also present the Earls Glencairn and Cassillis, with the Lord Fleming, and many other Lords, Barons, and Gentlemen of Lothian, Fife, Angus, and Mearns.

The skirmishing now grew hotter than before : shouts were heard on every side. Some Scotsmen were stricken down : some, not knowing the ground, lared (*sank in the bog*) and tint (*lost*) their horses. Some English horse of purpose were let loose, to provoke greedy and imprudent men to prick at them ; as many did, but found no advantage. While such disorder rises more and more in the army, men cried in every ear, ' My Lord-Lieutenant, what will ye do ? ' Great was the noise and confusion, while every man calls his own sloghorne (*slogan*).¹ The day was near spent, and that was the cause of the greatest fear. The Lord Maxwell, perceiving what would be the end of such beginnings, stood upon his feet with his friends. Being admonished to take his horse and provide for himself, he answered : ' Nay, I will rather abide here the chance that it shall please God to send me, than go home and there be hangit ! ' So he remained upon his feet and was taken, while the multitude fled, and took the greater shame.

The English perceiving the disorder, increased in courage. Before, they shouted ; but then they struck. They shot spears and dagged (*shot thickly*) arrows, where the companies were thickest. Some rencounters were made, but nothing availed. The soldiers cast from them their pikes, culverins (*firelocks*), and other weapons fencible ; the horsemen left their spears ; and without judgment all men fled. The sea was filling, and so the water made great stop ; but the fear was such that happy was he that might get a taker. Such as passed the water and escaped that danger, not well

¹ David Buchanan, in the 1644 edition, translates this 'sluggard' !

acquainted with the ground, fell into the Solway Moss. The entry thereof was pleasing enough; but, as they proceeded, all that took that way, either tint their horse, or else themselves and horse both. To be short, a greater fear and discomfiture, without cause, hath seldom been seen. It is said that where the men were not sufficient to take the hands of prisoners, some ran to houses and rendered themselves to women. Stout Oliver Sinclair was without stroke taken, fleeing full manfully; and so was his glory—stinking and foolish prouddness we should call it!—suddenly turned to confusion and shame. In that discomfiture were taken the two Earls Glencairn and Cassillis, the Lords Fleming, Somerville, and many other Barons and Gentlemen, besides a great multitude of servants.

Worldly men may think that all this came but by misorder and fortune, as they term it; but whosoever hath the least spunk (*spark*) of the knowledge of God, may as evidently see the work of His hand in this discomfiture, as ever was seen in any of the battles left to us in register by the Holy Ghost. For what more evident declaration have we that God fought against Benhadad, King of Aram, when he was discomfited at Samaria, than now we have that God fought with His own arm against Scotland? In the former discomfiture, there did two hundred and thirty persons in the skirmish, with seven thousand following them in the great battle, put to flight Benhadad, with thirty Kings in his company. But here, in this shameful discomfiture of Scotland, very few more than three hundred men, without knowledge of any battle to follow, put to flight ten thousand men without resistance made. *There* did every man rencounter his marrow (*match*), till the two hundred and thirty slew such as matched them. But *here*, without slaughter, the multitude fled. *There*, had those of Samaria the Prophet of God to comfort, to instruct, and to promise victory unto them. But England, in that pursuit, had nothing, but as God secretly wrought by His providence in men that knew nothing of His working.

neither yet of the causes thereof, more than the wall that fell upon the rest of Benhadad's army knew what it did. Therefore yet again we say, that such as in that sudden dejection behold not the hand of God fighting against pride, for freedom of His own little flock unjustly persecuted, do willingly and maliciously obscure the glory of God. But the end thereof is yet more notable.

The certain knowledge of the discomfiture coming to the King's ears, who waited upon news at Lochmaben, he was stricken with a sudden fear and astonishment, so that scarcely could he speak or hold purpose with any man. The night constrained him to remain where he was; so he yead (*went*) to bed, but rose without rest or quiet sleep. His continual complaint was, 'Oh, fled Oliver? Is Oliver tane (*taken*)? Oh, fled Oliver?' And these words in his melancholy, and as it were carried away in a trance, repeated he from time to time, to the very hour of his death.

Death of
James V. after
the disaster at
Solway Moss,
1542.

Upon the morn, which was St. Katharine's Day [25th November 1542], returned he to Edinburgh, and so did the Cardinal from Haddington. But the one being ashamed of the other, the bruit of their communication came not to public audience. The King made inventory of his poise (*money*), of all his jewels and other substance; and thereafter, as ashamed to look any man in the face, secretly departed to Fife, and coming to the Hallyards, was humanely received of the Lady of Grange, Janet Melville of Raith, an ancient and godly matron, the Laird at his coming being absent. In his company were only with him William Kirkcaldy, now Laird of Grange, and some others that waited upon his chamber. The Lady at supper, perceiving him pensive, began to comfort him, and willed him to take the work of God in good part. 'My portion of this world,' said he, 'is short, for I will not be with you fifteen days.' His servants repairing unto him, asked where he would have provision made for his Yule (*Christmas*), which then approached?

He answered, with a disdainful smirk: 'I cannot tell. Choose ye the place. But this I can tell you, before Yule Day ye will be masterless, and the Realm without a King!' Because of his displeasure, no man durst make contradiction unto him. So, after he had visited the Castle of Cairnie, pertaining to the Earl of Crawford, where the said Earl's daughter, one of his paramours, was, he returned to Falkland and took bed. And albeit there appeared unto him no signs of death, yet he constantly affirmed, 'Before such a day, I shall be dead.'

In the meantime was the Queen upon the point of her delivery in Linlithgow, who was delivered, the eighth day of
 Birth of the December 1542,¹ of Marie that then was born,
 Princess Mary, and now doth reign for a plagne to this Realm,
 afterwards as the progress of her whole life up to this
 Queen of Scots, day declareth. The certainty that a daughter
 1542. was born unto him coming to his ears, the King turned from
 such as spake with him, and said: 'The devil go with it! It
 will end as it began. IT CAME FROM A WOMAN,² AND IT WILL
 END IN A WOMAN!' After that, he spake not many words
 that were sensible, but ever harped upon this old song,
 'Fye, fled Oliver? Is Oliver tane? All is lost!'

¹ It was reported that the child was feeble. The English Ambassador, Sir Ralph Sadler, had an interview with the Queen-Dowager, to satisfy himself. He reports the result in a letter to Henry VIII., dated 22nd March 1543:—'Quoth the Queen, "The Governor" [the Earl of Arran, next heir to the throne after the child] "said that the child was not like to live, but you shall see whether he saith true or not." Therewith the caused me to go with her to the chamber where the child was, and showed her unto me, and also caused the nurse to unwrap her out of the clothes, that I might see her naked. I assure your Majesty it s as goodly a child as I have seen of her age, and as like to live, with the Grace of God.' He saw the Queen-Dowager again on 10th August. 'The Queen told me that her daughter did grow apace, and soon she would be a woman, if she took after her mother; who indeed is of the largest stature of women.'

² Marjory, daughter of Robert Bruce, wife of Walter the High Steward, mother of Robert II., and ancestress of the House of Stuart. In *The Chronicles of Scotland*, by Robert Lindsay of Pitcottie, a contemporary of Knox, the King's saying is rendered:—'It came with a lass; and it will pass with a lass.'

CHAPTER II

FROM THE DEATH OF JAMES V., ON 13TH DECEMBER 1542, TO
THE COMPLETE ESTABLISHMENT IN POWER OF
CARDINAL BEATON IN 1545.

KING JAMES departed this life the 13th day of December 1542. When the noise of his death divulged, all men lamented that the Realm was left without a male to succeed. Yet some rejoiced that such an enemy to God's Truth was taken away. He was called of some a good Poor Man's King ; of others he was termed a murderer of the Nobility, and one that had decreed their whole destruction. Thus men spake even as their affections led them. Yet none spake altogether beside the truth ; for, as the virtues could not be denied, so could not the vices by any craft be cloaked.

King James the
Fifth's death.
His character.

The question of Government was through the Realm universally moved. In despite of Cardinal Beaton and his suborned faction, James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, was declared Governor. The cause of the great favour that was borne unto him was the bruit that he favoured God's Word ; and because it was well known that he was one appointed to have been persecuted, as the Scroll found in the King's pocket after his death did witness. These two things, together with an opinion that men had of his simplicity, bowed the hearts of many unto him at the beginning, who after, with dolour of heart, were compelled to change their opinions.

The Earl of
Arran ap-
pointed
Regent. His
good begin-
ning.

The variety of matters that occurred, we omit, such as the

order taken for keeping the young Queen Marie ; the provision for her mother : the home-calling of the Douglas ; and others, such as appertain to an Universal History of the time. For we mind only to follow the progress of the Religion, and of the matters that cannot be dissevered from the same.



9. Arms of James the Fifth's two Queens, Magdalene of France and Mary of Guise.

The Earl of Arran being established in the government, godly men repaired unto him, and exhorted him to call to mind for what end God had exalted him to be Governor; out of what danger He had delivered him, he being in the Bloody Scroll; and what expectation all men of honesty had of him. At their instant suit, more than of his own motion, was Thomas Guillaume,¹ a Black Friar, called to be Preacher. This man was of solid judgment, of reasonable

letters as for that age, and of a prompt and good utterance; and his doctrine was wholesome, without great vehemency against superstition. Preached also sometimes John Rough [a Dominican Friar], who after, for the Verity of Christ Jesus, suffered in England in the days of Marie of cursed memory; albeit not so learned, yet more simple, and more vehement against

¹ Calderwood says that Guillaume was 'the first to give Knox a taste of the truth.' He is probably the same as 'Thomas Gilham, Scot, Bachelor of Divinity,' whose name occurs, with five other Scots, of whom Knox is one, in the list of eighty Preachers employed by the English Privy Council during the reign of Edward VI.

all impiety. The doctrine of these two provoked against them, and against the Governor also, the hatred of all such as rather favoured darkness than light, and their own bellies more than God. The Grey Friars—and amongst the rest Friar Scott, who before had given himself forth for the greatest professor of Christ Jesus within Scotland, and under that colour had disclosed, and so endangered many—these slaves of Satan, we say, rowped (*cried hoarsely*) as they had been ravens, yea, rather they yelled and roared as devils in hell: ‘Heresy! heresy! Guillaume and Rough will carry the Governor to the Devil!’ The town of Edinburgh, for the most part, was drowned in superstition. Only Edward Hope, young William Adamson, Sybilla Lyndsay, Patrick Lyndsay, Francis Aikman, and, in the Canongate, John Mackay and Ryngezeane (*Ninian*) Brown, with few others, had the bruit (*reputation*) of knowledge in those days. One Wilson, servant to the Bishop of Dunkeld, who neither knew the New Testament nor the Old, made a despiteful railing ballad against the Preachers, and against the Governor, for the which he narrowly escaped hanging. Cardinal Beaton moved both Heaven and Hell to trouble the Governor and to stay the preaching: but yet was the battle stoutly fought for a season, for the Cardinal was taken, and put first in Dalkeith, and after in Seton. But at length, by buddis (*bribes*) given to Lord Seton and to the old Laird of Lethington, he was restored to St. Andrews, from whence he wrought all mischief, as we shall after hear.¹

The Parliament approached, which was before the Pasch (*Easter*). There began question of abolishing certain tyrannical Acts, made before [14th March 1541], at the devotion of the Prelates, for maintaining their kingdom of darkness, to wit, ‘That under pain of heresy, no man should read any part of the Scriptures in the English tongue, neither yet any tractate or exposition of any place of Scripture.’ Men

Parliament
sanctions
Holy Writ in
the Vulgar
Tongue, on 15th
March 1543.

¹ ‘Then the Governor told me—swearing a great oath—that the Cardinal’s money had corrupted Lord Seton.’—*Sir Ralph Sadler to Sir William Cecil*, quoted in Sir John Skelton’s *Maitland of Lethington*, p. 16.

began to inquire, if it were not as lawful to men that understood no Latin to use the Word of their Salvation in the tongue they understood, as it was for Latin men to have it in Latin, and Grecians or Hebrews in their tongues. It was answered, that the Kirk had forbidden all kind of tongues but these three, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. But men demanded,



10. Chained Bible belonging to the Cathedral of Glasgow.

when that inhibition was given, and what Council had ordained it, considering that in the days of Chrysostom, he complained that the people used not the Psalms, and other Holy Books, in their own tongues? And if ye will say they were Greeks, and understood the Greek tongue, we answer, that CHRIST JESUS HAS COMMANDED HIS WORD TO BE PREACHED TO ALL NATIONS. Now, if it ought to be preached to all nations, it must be preached in the tongue they understand; and if it be lawful to preach it, and to hear it preached in all tongues, why shall it not be lawful to read it, and to hear it read in all tongues, to the end

that the people may 'try the spirits,' according to the commandment of the Apostle?

Beaten with these and other reasons, they denied not but it may be read in the Vulgar Tongue, provided the translation were true. It was demanded, what could be reprehended in it? Much searching was made, and nothing could be found, but that Love, say they, was put in the place of Charity! When the question was asked, What difference was betwixt the one and the other, and if they understood the nature of the Greek term *ἀγάπη*, they were dumb!

Reasoned for the party of the Seculars, the Lord Ruthven—father to him that prudently gave counsel to take just punishment upon that knave Davie (*David Rizzio*), for that he had abused the unhappy King Harry [Lord Darnley] in more cases than one—a stout and a discreet man in the cause of God, and Master Henry Balnaves, an old professor. For the part of the Clergy, one Hay (?), the Dean of Restalrig, and certain old bosses¹ with him.

The conclusion was, the Commissioners of Burghs, and a part of the Nobility, required of the Parliament that it might be enacted: 'That it shall be lawful to every man to use the benefit of the translation which they then had of the Bible and New Testament, together with the benefit of other treatises containing wholesome doctrine, unto such time as the Prelates and Kirkmen shall set forth unto them a translation more correct.' The Clergy thereto long repugned; but in the end, convicted by reasons and by multitude of votes in their contrary, they also condescended; and by Act of Parliament [15th March 1543] it was made free to all men and women to read the Scriptures in their own tongue, or in the English tongue; and so were all Acts made in the contrary abolished.

This was no small victory of Christ Jesus, fighting against the conjured enemies of his Verity; no small comfort to such as before were holden in such bondage, that they durst not have read the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, nor the Articles of their Faith, in the English tongue, but they should have been accused of heresy. Then might have been seen the Bible lying almost upon every Gentleman's table; and the New Testament was borne about in many men's hands. We grant that some, alas! profaned that Blessed Word; for some that, perchance, had never read ten sentences in it, had it most common in their hand; they would

¹ A term of contempt, meaning either ignorant persons, or worthless persons. David Buchanan, in his edition of 1644, with his usual felicity, renders it 'Bishops'!

chop their familiars on the cheek with it, and say, 'This has lain hid under my bed-feet these ten years !' Others would glory, 'O ! how oft have I been in danger for this Book ! How secretly have I stolen from my wife at midnight to read upon it !' And this was done of many to make court thereby ; for all men esteemed the Governor to have been the most fervent Protestant that was in Europa. Albeit we say that many abused that liberty granted of God miraculously, yet thereby did the knowledge of God wondrously increase, and God gave His Holy Spirit to simple men in great abundance. Then were set forth works in our own tongue—besides those that came from England—that did disclose the pride, the craft, the tyranny, and the abuses of that Roman Antichrist.

The fame of our Governor, the Earl of Arran, was spread in divers countries, and many praised God for him. [In
 Proposed Marriage of Edward VI. and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1542] King Harry of England sent unto him his Ambassador, Sir Ralph Sadler, who lay in Edinburgh a great part of the summer.¹ His commission was to contract a perpetual amity betwixt England and Scotland : the occasion whereof God had so offered, that to many men it appeared that from heaven He had declared His good pleasure in that behalf. For to King Harry, of Jane Somer (*Lady Jane Seymour*), after the death of Queen Katharine, and of all others

¹ Sir Ralph had a very poor opinion of the Scotch. Writing to Henry VIII., he says : 'There never was so noble a Prince's servant as I am so evil entreated among that unreasonable people ; nor do I think never man had to do with so rude, so inconsistent, and beastly a nation as this is !' Sir Ralph was a keen Protestant and Puritan, like Sir William Cecil, and was sent to Edinburgh at this time to counteract the influence of Cardinal Beaton, and to arrange for the marriage of Mary and Edward, in both of which projects he failed. Lloyd, in *State Worthies*, sums him up thus : 'Little was his body, but great was his soul.' It may be added that Thomas Randolph, Sir Ralph's successor, echoed his opinion of the Scots nation when he wrote to Cecil :— 'I think marvellously of the wisdom of God, that gave this unruly, inconstant, and cumbersome people no more substance than they have ; for then would they run wild.'

that might have made his marriage suspect, was given a son, Edward the Sixth, of blessed memory, older some years than our Mistress, and unto us was left a Queen. This wonderful Providence of God caused men of greatest judgment to enter into disputation with themselves whether, with good conscience, any man might repugn to the desires of the King of England, considering that thereby all occasion of war might be cut off, and great commodity might ensue to this Realm. The offers of King Harry were so large, and his demands so reasonable, that all that loved quietness were content therewith. [In March, 1543] there were sent from our Parliament to King Harry in commission, Sir William Hamilton of Sanquhar, Sir James Learmonth of Dairsie, and Master Henry Balnaves, advocate, of Halhill. They long remained in England, and so travailed that all things concerning the marriage betwixt Edward the Sixth and Marie, Queen of Scots, were agreed upon, except the time of her deliverance to the custody of Englishmen. In Scotland remained Master Sadler. The hands of our Lords were liberally anointed, besides other commodities promised, and of some received; and divers prisoners taken at Solway Moss were sent home ransom free, upon promise of their fidelity. How this promise was kept, the issue will witness.

In the end, so well were all content—the Cardinal, the Queen-Dowager, and the faction of France ever excepted—that solemnly, in the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, was the Contract of Marriage betwixt the persons foresaid read in public audience, subscribed, sealed, and approved of the Governor and the Nobility. And that nothing should lack that might fortify the matter, was Christ's Body Sacred, as Papists term it, broken betwixt the Governor and Master Sadler, Ambassador, and received of them both as a sign of the unity of their minds, inviolably to keep that contract in all points, as they looked of Christ Jesus to be saved, and to be reputed men worthy of credit before the world.

These things newly ratified, our merchants made frack (*ready*) to sail, and to their traffic, which by the troubles of war had some years been hindered. From Edinburgh were freighted twelve ships, richly laden, according to the wares of Scotland. From other towns and ports departed others, which all arrived upon the coasts of England towards the south, to wit, in Yarmouth, and entered not only within Roads, but also within Ports, where ships might be arrested. And because of the late contracted amity and gentle entertainment that they found at the first, they made no great expedition (*haste*). But being, as they supposed, in security, in merriness they spent the time, abiding upon the wind.

In the meantime, arrives from France to Scotland John Hamilton, the Abbot of Paisley, called bastard brother to the Governor, whom yet many esteemed son to George Crichton, the old Bishop of Dunkeld, and with him Master David Panter, who after was made Bishop of Ross. The bruit of the learning of these two, and their honest life, and their fervency and uprightness in religion, was such, that great esperance there was that their presence should have been comfortable to the Kirk of God. For it was constantly affirmed of some, that without delay, the one or the other would occupy the pulpit, and truly preach Jesus Christ. But few days disclosed their hypocrisy. What terrors, what promises, or what enchanting boxes they brought from France, the common people knew not; but shortly after, it was seen that Friar Guillaume was inhibited to preach, and so departed to England, and John Rough to Kyle, a receptacle of God's servants of old. The men of counsel, judgment, and godliness, that had travailed to promote the Governor, and that gave him faithful counsel in all doubtful matters, were either craftily conveyed from him, or else, by threatening to be hanged, were compelled to leave him. Of the one number, were the Laird of Grange

The defection
of the Govern-
nor, the Earl
of Arran, in
September
1543.

foresaid, Master Henry Balnaves,¹ Master Thomas Bellenden, and Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount; men by whose labours he was promoted to honour, and by whose counsel he so used himself at the beginning, that the obedience given to him was nothing inferior to that obedience that any King of Scotland of many years had before him. Yea, in this it did surmount the common obedience, that it proceeded from love of those virtues that were supposed to have been in him. Of the number of those that were threatened, were Master Michael Durham, Doctor in Medicine, Master David Borthwick [afterwards King's Advocate], David Forrest [General of the Mint], and David Bothwell; who counselled the Governor to have in his company men fearing God, and not to foster wicked men in their iniquity, albeit they were called his friends, and were of his surname of Hamilton. This counsel, understood by the foresaid Abbot, and by the Hamiltons, who then repaired to the Court, as ravens to the carrion, in plain words it was said: 'My Lord Governor or his friends will never be at quietness till a dozen of these knaves that abuse His Grace be hanged!' These words were spoken in his own presence, and in the presence of some of them that had better deserved than to have been so entreated: but the speaker was allowed for his bold and plain speaking. And so honest and godly men left the Court and him in the hands of such as by their wicked counsel led him so far from God, that he falsified his promise, dipped his hands in the blood of the Saints of God, and brought this Commonwealth to the very point of utter ruin. These were the first fruits of the Abbot of Paisley, his godliness and learning! But hereafter we will hear more.

All honest and godly men banished from the Court, the Abbot of Paisley and his Council began to lay before the

¹ Henry Balnaves of Halhill, advocate, one of the most eminent laymen among the Scots reformers, was appointed a judge of the Court of Session by James v. At the beginning of the Earl of Arran's regency, he was made Secretary of State.

inconstant Governor the dangers that might ensue the alteration and change of religion; the power of the King of France; the commodity that might come to him and his house by retaining the ancient league with France; and the great danger that he brought upon himself if, in any jot, he suffered the authority of the Pope to be violated or called in doubt within this Realm: considering that thereupon only stood the security of his own right to the succession of the Crown; for by God's Word could not be made good the divorcement of his father from Elizabeth Home, his father's first wife, and so would his father's second marriage [to Janet Beaton, mother of the Governor], Elizabeth Home being alive, be judged null, and he declared bastard.

The unhappy man, beaten with these temptations, rendered himself to the appetites of the wicked. He quietly stole away from the Lords that were with him in the Palace of Holyroodhouse, passed to Stirling, subjected himself to the Cardinal and to his counsel, received absolution, renounced the profession of Christ Jesus, His Holy Evangel, and violated his oath that before he had made, for observation of the Contract and League with England.¹

At that time [on 9th September 1543] was our Queen Marie crowned, and new promise made to France. The certainty hereof coming to King Harry of England, our Scottish ships were stayed, the sails taken from the rays

¹ The Governor's inconstancy was proverbial. At a much later period—on 30th November 1562—Thomas Randolph, the English Ambassador, wrote to Sir William Cecil:—‘The Duke of Chatelherault came unto this town on Thursday last. Upon Sunday at night the Duke supped with Master Knox, where the Duke desired that I should be. Three special points he hath promised to perform to Master Knox before me. The one is never to go, for any respect, from that he hath promised to be—a professor of Christ's word and setter forth of the same to his power. The next, always to show himself an obedient subject to his sovereign, as far as in duty and conscience he is bound. The third, never to alter from that promise he hath made for the maintenance of peace and amity between both the realms [of Scotland and England]. I will believe them all as I see them take effect, *but trust it shall never lie in his words alone!*’

(yards), and the merchants and mariners were commanded to sure custody. New commission was sent to Master Sadler, who still remained in Scotland, to demand the cause of that sudden alteration, and to travail by all means possible, that the Governor might be called back to his former godly purpose, and that he would not do so foolishly and dishonestly—yea, so cruelly and unmercifully—to the Realm of Scotland, that he would not only lose the commodities offered, and that were presently to be received, but that also he would expose Scotland to the hazard of fire and sword. But nothing could avail; the Devil kept fast the grip that he got, yea, even all the days of the said Earl's government. For the Cardinal got his eldest son in pledge, whom he kept in the Castle of St. Andrews, until the day that God's hand punished his pride.

Renewed
difficulties
with Henry
VIII.


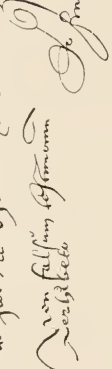
King Harry, perceiving that all hope of the Governor's repentance was lost, called back his Ambassador, and that with fearful threatenings, as Edinburgh after felt; denounced war; made our ships prizes, and merchants and mariners lawful prisoners, which, to the burghs of Scotland, was no small herschip (*loss*). But thereat did the Cardinal and the Priests laugh, and jestingly said: 'When we shall conquer England, the merchants shall be recompensed!' The summer and the harvest passed over without any notable thing. The Cardinal and the Abbot of Paisley parted the prey amongst them; and the abused Governor bore the name only.

The Cardinal with his craft prevailed on every side; so that the Scots proverb was true in him, 'So long runs the fox, as he foot has.'¹ Whosoever would not play to him the good valet, was reputed amongst his enemies.

Triumph of
Cardinal
Beaton.

Whether it was at this journey that the bloody butcher

¹ 'Aye runs the fox, while he foot has.'—DUNBAR'S *Poems* (Dr. Laing's edition, vol. i. p. 136).


 Ego vero Joannes filius Jacobi illius mystice Sanctiandree diocesis canonici
 tale apostolica auctoritate dñi premissis omnibus et singulis cum se per premissa
 dñi exgerenda decernat et faciat una cum premonitione prefate personarum
 quibus casus omnia et singula sic fieri et dñi iudicium et adiutorem de ymperio
 eorum preceptis hoc prefate problemis Insensumque manu sua propria scriptum tenenda
 confecti et hanc in formam publicam redigat signat et nunc nunc solus et confectus
 in domo et ceteris omnibus et singulis personis et ceteris et ceteris

 Non fallimur testemur
 Joannes notarius

II. REDUCED FACSIMILE OF DEED executed by John Knox in 1543 as a Roman Catholic notary.

In this document, dated in 1543, Knox describes himself as 'Joannes Knox, Sacri Altaris minister, Sanctiandree diocesis, auctoritate apostolica notarius.' (i.e. 'John Knox, minister of the Sacred Altar, of the Diocese of St. Andrews, notary by Papal authority'). Thus we have Knox at thirty-eight years of age still so immersed in what he forcibly styled the 'puddle of papistry', as to be designing himself a minister of the Altar, which for the next thirty years of his life he was to denounce with trumpet tongue as an altar of sacrilege and idolatry. Being in the diocese of St. Andrews, he must have held his license from Cardinal Beaton. This is the earliest extant autograph of John Knox.

[Cardinal Beaton] executed his cruelty upon the innocent persons in Saint Johnestoun (*Perth*), we can not affirm; neither yet therein study we to be curious. Rather we travail to express the verity, whensoever it was done, than scrupulously and exactly to appoint the times, which yet we omit not when the certainty occurs. The verity of that cruel fact is this :—

On St. Paul's Day [25th January 1544], before the first burning of Edinburgh [in May of that year], came to Saint Johnestoun the Governor and the Cardinal, and there, upon envious delation, were a great number of honest men and women called
 *before the Cardinal and accused of heresy.

Cardinal
Beaton's cruel-
ties, and the
arrival of the
English, 1544.

Albeit they could be convict of nothing but only of suspicion that they had eaten a goose upon Friday, yet four men were adjudged to be hanged, and a woman to be drowned; which cruel and most unjust sentence was without mercy put in execution. The names of the men that were hanged were James Hunter, Robert Lamb, William Anderson, James Rannelt, burgesses of St. Johnestoun. At the same time were banished Sir Henry Elder [a priest], John Elder, Walter Piper, Laurence Pullar, with divers others, whose names came not to our knowledge.

The Cardinal, that sworn enemy to Christ Jesus, and unto all in whom any spunk of true knowledge appeared, had divers about that same time in prison. Among these was John Roger, a Black Friar, godly and learned; one that fruitfully preached Christ Jesus, to the comfort of many in Angus and Mearns. That bloody man caused murder Roger in the ground of the Sea-Tower of St. Andrews, and then caused to cast him over the Craig, spreading a false bruit, 'That John, seeking to fly, had broken his own craig' (*neck*).

Thus ceased not Satan, by all means, to maintain his Kingdom of Darkness, and to suppress the light of Christ's Evangel. But potent is He against whom they fought: for,

when the wicked were in greatest security, then began God to show His anger. On the third day of May 1544, without knowledge of such as should have had the care of the Realm, was seen a great navy of ships arriving towards the Firth of Forth. The posts came to the Governor and Cardinal, who both were in Edinburgh, [telling] what multitude of ships were seen, and what course they took. This was upon the Saturday before noon. Question was had, what should they mean? Some said, No doubt they are Englishmen, and we fear they shall land. The Cardinal scripped (*mocked*) and said: ‘It is but the Island Fleet. They are come to make a show, and to put us in fear. I shall lodge all the men-of-war in my een (*eyes*) that shall land in Scotland!’ Still sits the Cardinal at his dinner, even as there had been no danger appearing. Men convene to gaze upon the ships, some to the Castle Hill, some to the Craggs, and other places eminent. But there was no question, ‘With what forces shall we resist, if we be invaded?’ Soon after six hours at night, there were arrived and had cast anchor in the Roads of Leith more than two hundred sail. Shortly after, the Admiral shot a flote-boat (*sent out a pinnace*), which, from Granton Craggs till by-east Leith, sounded the deep, and so returned to her ship. Hereof were diverse opinions. Men of judgment foresaw what it meant; but no credit was given to any that would say, ‘They mind to land.’ And so passed all men to their rest, as if these ships had been a guard for their defence!

Upon the point of day, on Sunday the fourth of May, the English addressed themselves for landing; and they ordered their ships so that a galley or two laid their snouts to the crags. The small ships, called Pinnaces, approached as near as they could. The great ships discharged their soldiers into the smaller vessels; and these, by boats, set upon dry land before ten hours ten thousand men, as was judged, and more. The Governor and Cardinal seeing then the thing

The English
in Edinburgh
and Leith.

they could not, or, at least, would not, believe before, after they had made a brag to fight, fled as fast as horse could carry them; and, after that, they approached not within twenty miles of the danger. The Earl of Angus and Sir George Douglas, his brother, were that night freed of ward—they were in Blackness Castle. The said Sir George in merriness said: ‘I thank King Harry and my gentle masters of England!’

The English army betwixt twelve and one hours entered Leith, and found the tables covered, and the dinners prepared, with such abundance of wine and victuals, besides the other substance, that the like riches within the like bounds was not to be found neither in Scotland nor England. Upon Monday the fifth of May, came to them from Berwick and the Borders, two thousand horsemen. When these were somewhat reposed, the army upon the Wednesday marched towards the town of Edinburgh, spoiled and burned the same, and so did they the Palace of Holyroodhouse. The horsemen took the House of Craigmillar, and got great spoils therein; for, being judged the strongest house near the town, after the Castle of Edinburgh, all men sought to save their moveables therein. But the stoutness of the Laird, Sir Simon Preston, gave it over without shot of hagbut (*muskets*), and for his reward he was caused to march upon his feet to London. He is now [1566] Captain of Dunbar and Provost of Edinburgh.

The Englishmen seeing no resistance, hurled cannons by force of men up the causeway [of the High Street] to the Butter-Tron [at the head of the West Bow] and above, and hazarded a shot at the fore-entry of the Castle. But that was to their own pains; for they, lying without trench or gabion (*earthwork*), were exposed to the force of the whole ordnance of the Castle, which shot, and that not all in vain. The wheel and axle-tree of one of the English cannon were broken, and some of their men slain; and so they left with small honour that enterprise, taken rather of rashness than

of any advised counsel. When the most part of the day they had spoiled and burned, towards night they returned to Leith, and upon the morrow to Edinburgh, and executed the rest of God's judgments for that time. So, when they had consumed both the towns, they laded the ships with the spoils thereof, and by land returned to Berwick, using the country for the most part at their own pleasure.¹

This was a part of the punishment which God took upon the Realm for the infidelity of the Governor, and for the violation of his solemn oath. But this was not the end.

The Realm was now divided into two factions. The one favoured France; the other the League lately contracted with England. The one did in no things thoroughly credit the other; so that the country was in extreme calamity. To the

Two parties
in Scotland:
English and
French.

Englishmen were delivered divers Strengths, such as Caerlaverock, Lochmaben, and Langholm; and the most part of the Borders were confederate with England. At Ancrum Muir, in February 1544, was Sir Ralph Evers, with many other Englishmen slain, and the year after were some of the said Strengths recovered. Yet was it not without great loss and detriment to the Common wealth; for in the month of June 1545, Monsieur de Lorge Montgomerie with bands of men of war came from France for a further destruction to Scotland. Forward go they towards Wark Castle in Northumberland even in the midst of harvest. The Cardinal's banner was that day displayed and all his feeallis (*dependants*) were charged to be under it. Many had

¹ The English account corresponds with this description:—'Finally it was determined by the Lord-Lieutenant [Lord Hertford] utterly to ruinate the town [of Edinburgh] with fire. We continued burning all that day, and the two days next ensuing continually, so that neither within the walls nor in the suburbs was left any one house unburnt. Also we burned the Abbey called Holy Rood House, and the Palace adjoining to the same.'—*The late expedition in Scotland, the Year of our Lord God, 1544*, which also describes how Lord Hertford, afterwards known as the Lord Protector Somerset, destroyed the Abbeys of Kelso, Dryburgh, Melrose and Jedburgh, whose ruin has often been ignorantly ascribed to the Reformers.

before promised ; but, at the point, it was left so bare, that with shame it was shut up in the poek (*bag*) again, and they after a show returned with more shame to the Realm, than scaith to their enemies. The Black Book of Hamilton maketh mention of great vasselage (*feats of arms*) done at that time by the Governor and the French Captain. But such as with their eyes saw the whole progress, know that to be a lie, and do repute it among the venial sins of that race, which is to speak the best of themselves they can !

That winter following so nurtured the Frenchmen, that they learned to eat—yea, to beg—cakes which at their entry they scorned. Without jesting, they were so miserably entreated, that few returned to France again with their lives.

The Cardinal had then almost fortified the Castle of St. Andrews, which he made so strong, in his opinion, that he regarded neither England nor France.



12. Castle of St. Andrews, where Cardinal Beaton was assassinated, and in which John Knox first preached.

CHAPTER III

FROM GEORGE WISHART'S ARRIVAL IN SCOTLAND IN 1544 TO
HIS MARTYRDOM IN MARCH 1546, AND THE RETRIBUTORY
MURDER OF CARDINAL BEATON TWO MONTHS LATER.

IN the midst of all the calamities that came upon this Realm after the defection of the Governor, the Earl of Arran, from Christ Jesus, came to Scotland that Blessed Martyr of God MASTER GEORGE WISHART, in the year of God 1544. He was a man of such graces as before him were never heard within this Realm, yea, and are rare to be found yet in any man, notwithstanding the great light of God that since his days hath shined unto us. He was singularly learned, as well in all godly knowledge, as in all honest human science. Also he was so clearly illuminated with the Spirit of Prophecy, that he saw not only things pertaining to himself, but also such things as some towms and the whole Realm afterwards felt, which he forespake, not in secret, but in the audience of many. The beginning of his doctrine (*teaching*) was in Montrose.

At Ayr, Gawin Dunbar, the Archbishop of Glasgow, by instigation of Cardinal Beaton, came with his gatherings to make resistance to Master George, and did first occupy the Kirk. The Earl of Glencairn repaired with his friends to the town with diligence, and so did divers Gentlemen of Kyle. When all were assembled, conclusion was taken that they would have the Kirk. Thercto Master George utterly repugned, saying : ' Let him alone ! His sermon will not much hurt. Let us

Wishart's
arrival in
Scotland, 1544.

Wishart's
preaching at
Ayr.

go to the Market Cross.' And so they did, where Master George made so notable a sermon, that the very enemies



13. George Wishart (John Knox's spiritual teacher).

Emery Tylney, his pupil at Cambridge, thus described George Wishart : ' Courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach and desirous to learn.'

themselves were confounded. The Archbishop preached to his jackmen and to some old bosses of the town. The

sum of all his sermon was: 'They say that we should preach! Why not? Better late thrive than never thrive! Haud (*keep*) us still for your Bishops, and we shall provide better the next time.' This was the beginning and the end of the Archbishop's sermon, who with haste departed the town, but returned not again to fulfil his promise.

The said Master George was required to come to the Kirk of Mauchline, as he did. But the Sheriff of Ayr caused man the Kirk for the preservation of a tabernacle that was there, beautiful to the eye. Some zealous of the parish, among whom was Hugh Campbell of Kinyeancleuch, offended that they should be debarred their Parish Kirk, concluded by force to enter. But Master George withdrew Hugh Campbell, and said unto him: 'Brother, Christ Jesus is as potent upon the fields as in the kirk. He Himself oftener preached in the desert, at the sea side, and in other places judged profane, than He did in the Temple of Jerusalem. It is the Word of Peace that God sends by me. The blood of no man shall be shed this day for the preaching of it.' So, withdrawing the whole people, he came to a dyke in a muir edge, upon the south-west side of Mauchline, upon which he ascended, the multitude standing and sitting about him. God gave the day pleasing and hot; and he continued in preaching more than three hours. In that sermon God wrought so wonderfully with him, that one of the most wicked men in that country, Laurence Rankin, laird of Sheill, was converted. The tears ran from his eyes in such abundance, that all men wondered. His conversion was without hypocrisy; for his life and conversation witnessed it in all times to come.

Wishart's heroism during the Plague at Dundee.	While this faithful servant of God was thus occupied in Kyle, word rose that the plague of pestilence was risen in Dundee, which began within four days after Master George was inhibited preaching; and the pest was so vehement, that it almost passed credibility, to hear what number
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departed every four and twenty hours. The certainty being understood, Master George took his leave of Kyle, and that with the regret of many. But no request could make him remain. His reason was, 'They are now in trouble, and they need comfort. Perchance this Hand of God will make them now to magnify and reverence that Word which before, for the fear of men, they set at light price.'

Coming to Dundee, the joy of the Faithful was exceeding great. Master George delayed no time, but gave signification that he would preach; and, because the most part were either sick, or else were in company with those that were sick, he chose the head of the East Port of the town for his preaching place; and the whole sat or stood within, and the sick and suspected without the Port. The text on which his first sermon was made, he took from the Hundred and Seventh Psalm: 'He sent His Word and healed them'; and therewith joined these words, 'It is neither herb nor plaster. O Lord, but Thy Word healeth all!' In which sermon, he most comfortably did entreat of the dignity and utility of God's Word; the punishment that comes for contempt of the same; the promptitude of God's Mercy to such as truly turn to Him; yea, the great happiness of them whom God taketh from this misery, even in His own gentle visitation, which the malice of man can neither eke nor impair. By which sermon he so raised up the hearts of all that heard him, that they regarded not death, but judged them more happy that should depart, than such as should remain behind; considering that they knew not if they should have such a comforter with them at all times. He spared not to visit them that lay in the very extremity, and comforted them as he could. And he caused minister all things necessary to those that might use meat or drink; and in that point was the Town wondrous benevolent; for the poor were no more neglected than were the rich.

While he was spending his life to comfort the afflicted, the Devil ceased not to stir up his own son, Cardinal Beaton.

He corrupted by money a desperate Priest named Sir John Wighton, to slay Master George, who looked not to himself in all things so circumspectly as worldly men would have used. On a day when the sermon was ended, and the people departing, no man suspecting danger, and therefore not heeding Master George, the Priest stood waiting at the foot of the steps, his gown loose, and his drawn whinger in his hand under his gown. Master George, who was most sharp of eye and judgment, marked him, and as he came near, he said, 'My friend, what would ye do?' Therewith he clapped his hand upon the Priest's hand, wherein the whinger was, and took it from him. The Priest abashed, fell down at his feet, and openly confessed the verity. The noise rising and coming to the ears of the sick, they cried: 'Deliver the traitor to us, or else we will take him by force'; and they thrust in at the gate. But Master George took him in his arms and said: 'Whosoever troubleth him shall trouble me. He hath hurt me in nothing, but he hath done great comfort both to you and to me, to wit, he hath let us understand what we may fear. In times to come, we will watch better.' So he appeased both the one part and the other, and saved the life of him that sought his.

In the hinder end of Yule, passed Master George Wishart to Haddington. The first night he lay within the town. The second night he lay at Lethington, the Laird whereof [Sir Richard Maitland, Secretary Lethington's father] was ever civil, albeit not persuaded in religion. The day following, before Master George passed to the sermon, there came to him a boy with a letter from the West Land, which received and read, he called for JONN KNOX,¹ who had waited upon him carefully

¹ John Knox here mentions himself for the first time. He was twenty-three years old when Patrick Hamilton was burned in St. Andrews, and now, at the age of forty, he attached himself openly to the Reforming party as an avowed adherent of George Wishart, who was his junior by eight or nine

from the time he came to Lothian; with whom he began to enter in purpose (*enter into conversation*): 'that he wearied of the world, for he perceived that men began to be weary of God.'

John Knox, wondering that he desired to keep any purpose before sermon, for that was never his accustomed use before, said: 'Sir, the time of sermon approacheth; I will leave you for the present to your meditation'; and so left him. Master George paced up and down behind the High Altar more than half an hour: his weary countenance declaring the grief and alteration of his mind. At last he passed to the pulpit, but the auditure was small. He should have begun to have entreated of the Second Table of the Law; but thereof in that sermon he spake very little, but began on this manner:—

'O Lord, how long shall it be that Thy Holy Word shall be despised, and men shall not regard their own salvation? I have heard of thee, Haddington, that in thee would have been at a vain Clerk [or Miracle] Play two or three thousand people; and now, to hear the Messenger of the Eternal God, of all the town or parish can not be numbered a hundred persons! Sore and fearful shall the plagues be that shall ensue upon this thy contempt! With fire and sword shalt thou be plagued! Yea, thou Haddington, strangers shall possess thee, and you, the present inhabitants, shall either in bondage serve your enemies, or else ye shall be chased from your habitations; and that because ye have not known, nor will not know, the time of God's merciful visitation.'

years. Of the previous forty years of Knox's life, strange to say, we know absolutely nothing with certainty, except that he was born in 1505 in or near Haddington, his father's Christian name being William, and his mother's surname Sinclair; that he was educated at Haddington and in the University of Glasgow; that he took Priest's orders in or about 1530; and that, prior to 1545, he was employed as a tutor in the families of Douglas of Longniddry and Cockburn of Ormiston, proprietors holding Reformed opinions. It is at least doubtful whether, but for Wishart's influence and Wishart's tragic death, Knox would ever have stepped to the front.

In such vehemency and threatening continued that servant of God near an hour and a half, in which he declared all the plagues that ensued, as plainly as after our eyes saw them performed. In the end he said: 'I have forgotten myself and the matter that I should have entreated; but let these my last words as concerning public preaching remain in your minds, till God send you new comfort.' Thereafter, he made a short paraphrase upon the Second Table, with an exhortation to Patience, to the Fear of God, and to the Works of Mercy; and so put end, as it were making his last testament. The issue declared that the Spirit of Truth and of True Judgment were both in his heart and mouth; for that same night was he apprehended, before midnight, in the House of Ormiston, by the Earl Bothwell,¹ made for money butcher to the Cardinal.

The manner of Master George Wishart's taking was thus:—Departing from Haddington, he took his good-night, as it were for ever, of all his acquaintance, especially from Hugh Douglas of Longniddry. Wishart is captured after bidding farewell to Knox, John Knox pressing to go with him, Master 1545. George said: 'Nay, return to your bairns (*pupils*), and God bless you. One is sufficient for one sacrifice.'² He then caused a two-handed sword, which commonly was carried with him, to be taken from John Knox, who, albeit unwillingly, obeyed and returned with Hugh Douglas. Master George having, to accompany him, the Laird of Ormiston, John Sandilands of Calder, younger, the Laird of Brunestane, and others, with their servants, passed on foot—for it was a vehement frost—to Ormiston. After supper, he held a comfortable purpose of the death of God's chosen children, and merrily said, 'Methinks that I desire earnestly to sleep'; and 'Will we sing a Psalm?' So

¹ Earl Patrick, father of Earl James, Queen Mary's third husband. Of Earl Patrick, Sir Ralph Sadler, the English envoy, wrote, on 5th May 1543, from Edinburgh: 'I think him the most vain and insolent man in the world, full of pride and folly, and here, I assure you, nothing at all esteemed.'

² Or, according to another reading, 'for a sacrifice.'

he appointed the fifty-first Psalm, which began thus in Scottish metre :—

‘ Have mercy on me now, good Lord,
After Thy great mercie,
My sinful life does me remord,
Which sore has grieved Thee.’¹

Which being ended he passed to his chamber, and, sooner than his common diet was, passed to bed with these words, ‘ God grant quiet rest.’²

Before midnight, the place was beset about so that none could escape to make advertisement. At the first word, Master George said, ‘ Open the gates. The Blessed Will of my God be done !’ The Earl Bothwell called for the Laird, and said : ‘ It was but vain to make him to hold his house ; for the Governor and the Cardinal with all their power were coming ’—indeed, the Cardinal was at Elphinstone Tower, not a mile distant—‘ but if he would deliver the man to him, he would promise upon his honour, that it should pass the power of the Cardinal to do him any harm or scaith.’ At this promise, made in the presence of God, and hands struck by both the parties for observation of the promise, Master George was delivered to the hands of the Earl Bothwell. He was carried first to Edinburgh, and thereafter brought back for the fashion’s (*appearance*) sake to the house of Hailes again, which was the principal place that then the Earl of Bothwell had in Lothian. But, as gold and women have corrupted all worldly and fleshly men from the beginning, so did they the Earl. He made some resistance at the first, by reason of his promise. But an effeminate man

¹ This version of the fifty-first Psalm is identical with that printed in the *Gude and Godly Ballatis*. See the edition edited for the Scottish Text Society by Rev. Professor Mitchell, D.D., p. 120. Dr. Mitchell shows in his Introduction how much these psalms and hymns contributed to the Scottish Reformation, supplying elements which could not be found in the satirical, destructive poems of Sir David Lyndsay and George Buchanan.

² ‘ So touching a picture could have been drawn by none but a skilful hand guided by a loving heart.’—Sir WILLIAM STIRLING MAXWELL.

cannot long withstand the assaults of a gracious Queen ; and so was the servant of God transported to Edinburgh Castle, and afterwards to the Sea-Tower of St. Andrews.

In the meantime at Ormiston the Lairds of Calder, Brunestane and Ormiston made fair countenance, and entreated the gentlemen to drink, and to bait their horses, till they might put themselves in readiness to ride with them. Brunestane then conveyed himself, first secretly, then by speed of foot, to Ormiston Wood, and thence to Drundallon (? *Tautallon*), and so escaped. The other two were put into the Castle of Edinburgh, where Calder remained until his Bond of Manrent (*engagement to support*) to the Cardinal was the means of his deliverance. Ormiston freed himself by leaping the wall of the Castle, betwixt ten hours and eleven before noon ; and so breaking ward, he escaped prison, which he unjustly suffered.

If we interlace merriness with earnest matters, pardon us, good Reader,¹ for this fact is so notable that the Battle of the Croziers. it deserveth long memory :—

The Cardinal Beaton was known proud ; and Gawin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, was known a glorious fool. Yet, because he had been the King's Master (*tutor*), he was Chancellor of Scotland. The Cardinal being in the town of Glasgow, and the Archbishop in the Castle, question rises for bearing their crosses. The Cardinal alleged, by reason of his Cardinalship, and because he was *Legatus Natus*, and Primate within Scotland in the Kingdom of Antichrist, that

¹ 'Unexpectedly enough, Knox has a vein of drollery in him ; which I like much, in combination with his other qualities. He has a true eye for the ridiculous. His *History*, with its rough earnestness, is curiously enlivened with this. When the two Prelates, entering Glasgow Cathedral, quarrel about precedence, take to hustling one another, twitching one another's rochets, and at last flourishing their croziers like quarter-staves, it is a great sight for him every way ! Not mockery, scorn, bitterness alone ; though there is enough of that too. But a true, loving, illuminating laugh mounts up over the earnest visage ; not a loud laugh ; a laugh in the eyes most of all !'—THOMAS CARLYLE in *Heroes and Hero-Worship*.

he should have the pre-eminence, and that his cross should not only go before, but also that it only should be borne wheresoever he was. The Archbishop lacked no reasons for maintenance of *his* glory. 'He was an Archbishop in his own diocese, and in his own Cathedral seat and church, and therefore ought to give place to no man. The power of the Cardinal was but begged from Rome, and appertained but to his own person and not to his bishopric; for it might be that his successor should not be Cardinal. But *his* dignity was annexed with his office, and did appertain to all that ever should be Archbishops of Glasgow.' Howsoever these doubts might be resolved by the Doctors of Divinity of both the Prelates, the decision was as ye shall hear.

Coming forth or going in—all is one—at the Choir Door of Glasgow Kirk, there begins striving for state betwixt the two cross-bearers. From glooming, they come to shouldering; from shouldering, they go to buffets, and from dry blows to neffs and neffelling (*fists and fisticuffing*). Then, for charity's sake, they cry, *Dispersit, dedit pauperibus*, and essay which of the crosses was finest metal, which staff was strongest, and which cross-bearer could best defend his master's pre-eminence; and that there should be no superiority in that behalf, to the ground go both the crosses. Then began no little fray, but yet a merry game. Rochets (*surplices*) were rent; tippets were torn, crowns were knapped (*broken*), and side (*long*) gowns might have been seen wantonly wag from the one wall to the other. Many of them lacked beards. That was the more pity; therefore they could not buckle each other by the birse (*beard*) as bold men would have done. But, fie on the jackmen that did not their duty! Had the one part of them rencountered the other, then had all gone right. But the Sanctuary, we suppose, saved the lives of many. How merrily so ever this be written, it was bitter bourding (*jesting*) to the Cardinal and his Court. It was more than irregularity. Yea, it might well have been judged lese-

majesty (*treason*) to the Son of Perdition, the Pope's own person; and yet the other, in his folly as proud as a peacock, would let the Cardinal know that he was a Bishop when the other was but Beaton, before he got the Abbey of Aberbrothock (*Arbroath*).

This enmity was judged mortal, and without hope of reconciliation. But the blood of the innocent servant of God, Master George Wishart, buried in oblivion all that bragging; for the Archbishop of Glasgow was the first to whom the Cardinal wrote, signifying what was done, and earnestly craving that he would assist with his presence and counsel how such an enemy to their Estate might be suppressed. Thereto was not the other slow, but kept time appointed, sat next to the Cardinal, voted and subscribed first in the rank, and lay over the East Blockhouse (*tower*) with the Cardinal till the Martyr of God was consumed by fire.

This we must note, that as all these beasts consented in heart to the slaughter of that innocent, so did they approve it with their presence, having the whole ordnance of the Castle of St. Andrews bent towards the place of execution, which was nigh to the Castle, ready to have shot if any would have made defence or rescue to God's Servant.

The Bishops, with their complices, condemned this innocent man to be burnt as a heretic, thinking verily, that they should do to God good sacrifice, conformable to the saying of Jesus Christ in the Gospel of St. John, Chapter xvi.: 'They shall excommunicate you; yea, and the time shall come, that he which killeth you shall think that he hath done to God good service.'

Wishart condemned.

THE PRAYER OF MASTER GEORGE WISHART

'O Immortal God! How long shalt Thou suffer the great cruelty of the ungodly to exercise their fury upon Thy servants, which do further Thy Word in this world? . . . O

Lord, we know surely that Thy true servants must needs suffer, for Thy name's sake, persecution, affliction, and troubles in this present life, which is but a shadow, as Thou hast shown unto us by Thy Prophets and Apostles. Yet we desire Thee, Merciful Father, that Thou wouldst conserve, defend, and help Thy Congregation, which Thou hast chosen before the beginning of the world, and give them Thy grace to hear Thy Word, and to be Thy true servants in this present life.'

By and by, they caused the common people to remove, whose desire was always to hear that innocent speak. The Sons of Darkness then pronounced their sentence definitive, not having respect to the judgment of God. When all was done and said, my Lord Cardinal caused his tormentors to pass again with the meek lamb unto the Castle, until such time as the fire was made ready. When he was come into the Castle, there came Friar Scott and his mate, saying: 'Sir, ye must make your confession unto us.' He answered: 'I will make no confession unto you. Go fetch me yonder man that preached this day, and I will make my confession unto him.' Then they sent for the Sub-Prior of the Abbey, Dean John Winram, but what he said in this confession I can not show.

When the fire was made ready, and the gallows, at the west part of the Castle of St. Andrews near the Priory, my Lord Cardinal, dreading that Master George should have been taken away by his friends, commanded to bend all the ordnance of the Castle right against the place of execution, and commanded all his gunners to stand beside their guns, until such time as he was burned. They bound Master George's hands behind his back, and led him forth with their soldiers from the Castle, to the place of their cruel and wicked execution.

As he came forth of the Castle Gate, there met him certain beggars, asking of him alms for God's sake. To whom he

Wishart at the
stake, 1st
March 1546.

answered : ‘ I want my hands, wherewith I was wont to give you alms. But the Merciful Lord, of His benignity and abundant grace, that feedeth all men, vouchsafe to give you necessaries, both unto your bodies and souls.’ Then afterward met him two false fiends—I should say Friars—saying : ‘ Master George, pray to Our Lady, that she may be a mediatrix for you to her Son.’ To whom he answered meekly : ‘ Cease ! Tempt me not, my brethren.’ After this, he was led to the fire, with a rope about his neck, and a chain of iron about his middle.

When he came to the fire, he sat down upon his knees, and rose up again ; and thrice he said these words : ‘ O Thou Saviour of the World, have mercy upon me ! Father of Heaven, I commend my spirit into Thy holy hands.’ Then he turned to the people and said : ‘ I beseech you, Christian Brethren and Sisters, be not offended at the Word of God, for the affliction and torments which ye see prepared for me. But I exhort you, love the Word of God and suffer patiently, and with a comfortable heart, for the Word’s sake, which is your undoubted salvation and everlasting comfort. Moreover, I pray you, show my brethren and sisters, which have heard me oft, that they cease not to learn the Word of God which I taught unto them, for no persecutions in this world, which lasteth not. Show them that my doctrine was no wives’ fables, after the constitutions made by men. If I had taught men’s doctrine, I had gotten greater thanks by men. But for the true Evangel, which was given to me by the Grace of God, I suffer this day by men, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was sent, that I should suffer this fire for Christ’s sake. Consider and behold my visage. Ye shall not see me change my colour ! This grim fire I fear not : and so I pray you to do, if any persecution come unto you for the Word’s sake ; and not to fear them that slay the body, and afterward have no power to slay the soul. Some have said I taught that the soul of man should sleep until the Last Day ; but I

know surely that my soul shall sup with my Saviour this night, ere it be six hours, for whom I suffer this.'

Then he prayed for them which accused him, saying: 'I beseech Thee, Father of Heaven, forgive them that have of any ignorance, or else of any evil mind, forged lies upon me. I forgive them with all my heart. I beseech Christ to forgive them that have condemned me to death this day ignorantly.' Last of all, he said to the people on this manner: 'I beseech you, Brethren and Sisters, to exhort your Prelates to the learning of the Word of God, that they may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good. If they will not convert themselves from their wicked errors, there shall hastily come upon them the Wrath of God, which they shall not eschew.'

Many faithful words said he in the meantime, taking no care of the cruel torments prepared for him. Last of all, the hangman, his tormentor, upon his knees, said: 'Sir, I pray you, forgive me, for I am not guilty of your death.' To whom he answered: 'Come hither to me.' When he was come to him, he kissed his cheek, and said: 'Lo! here is a token that I forgive thee. My heart, do thine office!' Then, the trumpet sounding, he was put upon the gibbet and hanged, and there burnt to powder. When the people beheld the great tormenting of that innocent, they might not withhold from piteous mourning and complaining of the innocent lamb's slaughter.¹

After the death of this Blessed Martyr of God, began the people in plain speaking, to damn and detest the cruelty that was used. Yea, men of great birth, The people cry estimation, and honour, at open tables avowed, for vengeance. that the blood of Master George should be revenged, or else it should cost life for life.

¹ 'The gentlest and most reverent pages of all Knox's *History* are those in which he tells of the courage of George Wishart at his trial and his constancy in the hour of death. For Wishart alone, of all the men he ever knew, Knox seems to have had the feeling of a disciple for a master.'—Mrs. M'CUNN's *Life of John Knox*, p. 8.

After the Pasch the Cardinal came to Edinburgh, to hold the Seinye (*Synod*), as the Papists term their unhappy assembly of Baal's shaven sort. It was bruited that something was purposed against the Cardinal by the Earl of Angus, whom he mortally hated, and whose destruction he sought. But it failed: and he only rejoiced and said: 'Eat and be glad, my soul, for thou hast great riches laid up in store for many days!' Also he said: 'Tush! A fig for the feud, and a button for the bragging of all the heretics in Scotland! Is not my Lord Governor mine? Witness his eldest son in pledge at my table! Have I not the Queen at my own devotion? Is not France my friend, and I friend to France? What danger should I fear?'

Thus, in vanity, the carnal Cardinal delighted himself a little before his death. He had devised to have cut off such as he thought might cumber him. He was
 Cardinal Beaton assassinated on 29th May 1546. slain upon the Saturday, and he had appointed the whole Gentlemen of Fife to have met him at Falkland the Monday after. His treasonable purpose was this:—that Norman Leslie, Sheriff of Fife and heir-apparent to his father, the Earl of Rothes, John Leslie, father's brother to Norman Leslie, the Lairds of Grange, elder and younger, Sir James Learmouth of Dairsie, Provost of St. Andrews, and the faithful Laird of Raith, should either have been slain, or else taken, and after used at his pleasure.

Many purposes were devised how that wicked man might have been taken away. But all failed till Friday the 28th May 1546, when the foresaid Norman came at night to St. Andrews. William Kirkcaldy of Grange, younger, was in the town before. Last came John Leslie, who was most suspected.

Early on the Saturday morning were they in sundry companies in the Abbey Kirkyard not far distant from the Castle. The gates being open, and the drawbridge let down, for receiving lime, and stones, and other things necessary for building—for Babylon was almost finished—first essayed

William Kirkealdy of Grange, younger, and with him six persens, who, getting entrance, held purpose with the porter, 'Is my lord waking?' who answered 'No.' While the said William and the porter talked, and his servants made to look



14. Cardinal Beaton. (From a portrait in Blairs College.)

at the work and the workmen, Norman Leslie approached with his company; and, because they were in no great number, they easily got entrance. Immediately after came John Leslie, somewhat rudely, and four persons with him. The porter, fearing, would have drawn the bridge; but the said John being entered thereon, leapt in. The porter made him for defence: but his head was broken, the keys taken from him, and he cast into the fosse, and so the place was seized. The shout arises; the workmen, to the number of more than

a hundred, ran off the walls and were without hurt put forth at the wicket gate. William Kirkcaldy took the guard of the priory postern, fearing that the fox should have escaped. Then go the rest to the gentlemen's chambers; and, without violence done to any man, they put more than fifty persons to the gate. The number that enterprised and did this was but sixteen.

The Cardinal, wakened with the shouts, asked from his window, 'What means that noise?' It was answered that Norman Leslie had taken his Castle. Which understood, he ran to the postern; but, perceiving the passage to be kept without, he returned quickly to his chamber, took his two-handed sword, and made his chamber-child cast kists (*chests*) and other impediments to the door. In the meantime came John Leslie unto it and bid open.

The Cardinal. 'Who calls?'

Leslie. 'My name is Leslie.'

The Cardinal. 'Is that Norman?'

Leslie. 'Nay, my name is John.'

The Cardinal. 'I will have Norman. He is my friend.'

Leslie. 'Content yourself with such as are here. Other shall ye get none.'

There were with the said John, James Melvin, a man familiarly acquainted with Master George Wishart, and Peter Carmichael, a stout Gentleman. In the meantime, while they force the door, the Cardinal hides a box of gold under coals that were laid in a secret corner. At length he asked, 'Will ye save my life?'

Leslie. 'It may be that we will.'

The Cardinal. 'Nay. Swear unto me by God's Wounds, and I shall open unto you.'

Leslie. 'It that was said is unsaid. Fire! Fire!'

The door was very stark; and so was brought a chymlay (*grate*) full of burning coals. Which perceived, the Cardinal or his chamber-child—it is uncertain—opened the door; and the Cardinal sat down in a chair, and cried: 'I am a priest! I am

a priest! Ye will not slay me!' John Leslie, according to his former vows, struck him first once or twice, and so did the said Peter. But James Melvin, a man of nature most gentle and most modest, perceiving them both in choler, withdrew them and said: 'This judgment of God, although it be secret, ought to be done with greater gravity.' Presenting unto him the point of the sword, he said: 'Repent thee of thy former wicked life, especially of the shedding of the blood of that notable instrument of God, Master George Wishart, which, albeit the flame of fire consumed it before men, yet cries it a vengeance upon thee; and we from God are sent to revenge it. Here, before my God, I protest that neither the hatred of thy person, nor the love of thy riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou couldst have done to me in particular, moved or moveth me to strike thee, but only because thou hast been and remainest an obstinate enemy to Christ Jesus and His Holy Evangel.'¹

So Melvin struck the Cardinal twice or thrice through with a stog (*stabbing*) sword; and he fell, never word heard out of his mouth, but 'I am a priest! I am a priest! Fie, fie! All is gone.'

¹ Opposite these words of Melvin, on the margin of the 1566 ms., is written, 'The godly fact and words of James Melvin.' Dr. Laing attributes this marginal to Knox. Dr. Hume Brown in his *Life of Knox* accepts this view, and after showing that Knox, while he may have approved the death of Beaton, although not necessarily the lawless manner in which the deed was done, had no connection of any kind with the murder, adds this note:—'To appreciate the precise significance of Knox's comment, one should place beside it Queen Mary's deliberately expressed approval of the assassination of her brother, the Regent Moray: "Ce que Bothwellhaugh a fait, a été sans mon commandement, de quoi je lui sais aussi bon gré et meilleur, que si j'eusse été du conseil. Je n'oublierai la pension du dit Bothwellhaugh." "*What Bothwellhaugh has done has been without my orders. But I am as much indebted to him for it, and more, than if he had consulted me. I shall not forget the pension of the said Bothwellhaugh (the assassin).*" In the case of both Knox and Mary, the century entered into their words as much as the individual.'

CHAPTER IV

FROM THE ENTRY OF JOHN KNOX INTO THE CASTLE OF
ST. ANDREWS ON 10TH APRIL 1547, TO HIS LIBERA-
TION FROM THE FRENCH GALLEYS IN 1550.

AT the Pasch, 1547, came to the Castle of St. Andrews John Knox,¹ who, wearied of removing from place to place, by reason of the persecution that came upon him by the Archbishop of St. Andrews [Cardinal Beaton's successor, John Hamilton], was determined to have left Scotland, and to have visited the Schools of Germany. Of England then he had no pleasure, by reason that, although the Pope's name was suppressed, yet his laws and corruptions remained in full vigour. But he had the care of some Gentlemen's children, whom certain years he had nourished in godliness; and their fathers solicited him to go to St. Andrews, that he himself might have the benefit of the Castle, and their children the benefit of his doctrine. So came he to St. Andrews, having in his company Francis Douglas of Longniddry, George his brother, and Alexander Cockburn, eldest son to the Laird of Ormiston, and he began to exercise them after his accustomed manner. Besides the Grammar, and other humane authors, he read to them a Catechism, an account whereof he caused them to give publicly in the Parish Kirk of St. Andrews. He read moreover unto them the Evangel of John,² pro-

¹ An attempt has been made to suggest that Knox was concerned in the murder of Cardinal Beaton. For this there is no foundation; and he did not enter the castle of St. Andrews until ten months after Beaton's death.

² This was Knox's favourite gospel, as appears from the accounts we have of his death, which took place about eleven on the night of 24th

ceeding where he left off at his departing from Longniddry, where his residence was before; and that lecture he read in the Chapel, within the Castle, at a certain hour. They of the place, especially Master Henry Balnaves and John Rough, preacher, perceiving the manner of his doctrine, began earnestly to travail with him, that he would take the preaching place upon him. But he utterly refused, alleging that 'He would not run where God had not called him'; meaning, that he would do nothing without a lawful vocation.¹

Whereupon, privily amongst themselves advising, having with them in council Sir David Lyndsay² of the Mount, they concluded that they would give a charge to the said John, and that publicly by the mouth of their preacher. So upon a certain day, John Rough preached a sermon of the Election of Ministers,—what power the congregation had

How Knox
unwillingly
became a
Preacher.

November 1572. His secretary, Richard Bannatyne, thus records the earlier part of that day: 'A little after noon Master Knox caused his wife read the 15th Chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, of the Resurrection, to whom he said, "Is not that a comfortable chapter?" A little after, "Now, for the last, I commend my soul, spirit, and body," pointing upon his threc fingers, "into Thy hands, O Lord!" Thereafter, about five hours, to his wife, "Go, read where I cast my first anchor." AND SO SHE READ THE 17TH OF JOHN'S EVANGEL.'

¹ 'The post of Prophet to his nation was not of Knox's seeking. He had lived forty years quietly obscure, well content to guide his own steps by the light of the Reformation, nowise unduly intruding it on others. . . . Resolute he to walk by the truth, and speak the truth when called to do it; not ambitious of more; not fancying himself capable of more.'—THOMAS CARLYLE in *Heroes and Hero-Worship*. See Mr. Taylor Innes's *Life of John Knox*, p. 37, on this passage of Carlyle.

² See *The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount*, edited by David Laing, LL.D. Lyndsay, the head of the Scottish College of Heralds as Lyon King-at-Arms, and the Poet Laureate of the Scottish Court, was the popular poet of the Scottish Reformation, as Dunbar had been of the Scottish Renaissance. George Buchanan was the poet of men of culture; but Lyndsay, like Dunbar, wrote in the vernacular for all classes. In *Rob Roy*, Sir Walter Scott makes Andrew Fairservice express contempt for his master's efforts at poetry: 'Twa lines o' Davie Lyndsay wald ding a' he ever clerkit.' Lyndsay was a musician as well as a poet. Among the first words which James v. lisped in infancy were the royal command to

over any man in whom they espied the gifts of God, and how dangerous it was to refuse the voice of such as desire to be instructed. These and other heads having been declared, John Rough, the preacher, directed his words to John Knox, saying: ‘Brother, ye shall not be offended, albeit that I speak unto you that which I have in charge, even from all those here present:—In the name of God, and of His Son Jesus Christ, and in the name of these that presently call you by my mouth, I charge you, that ye refuse not this holy vocation, but, as ye tender the Glory of God, the increase of Christ His Kingdom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of me, oppressed by the multitude of labours, that ye take upon you the public office of preaching, even as ye look to avoid God’s heavy displeasure, and desire that He shall multiply His graces upon you.’ In the end, he said to those present: ‘Was not this your charge to me? Do ye not approve this vocation?’ They answered, ‘It was; and we approve it.’

Whereat John Knox, abashed, burst forth in most abundant tears, and withdrew himself to his chamber. His countenance and behaviour, from that day till the day he was compelled to present himself to the public place of preaching, did sufficiently declare the grief and trouble of his heart; for no man saw any sign of mirth in him, neither

Sir David—‘Pay, Day Lyn,’—*Play, Davie Lyndsay!* It is curious that the lines on Cardinal Beaton’s murder by which Lyndsay is now best known—

‘Although the deed was foully done
The loon is weel awa!’

do not appear in any of his extant poems. Both Lyndsay and Buchanan attacked the Roman sacerdotal system in its most vulnerable part, the morals of the clergy. His name was coupled by Dempster, the Roman Catholic writer, in his *Scotia Illustrior*, page 54, with those of Knox, Buchanan and Willock, as among the most dangerous enemies of the ancient church:—‘Knoxii, *Lindsayi*, Buchanani, Willoxii, aliorum, impia scripta incautorum manibus teruntur; opus erat antidoto, ne latius venenum serperet.’ The poems of Lyndsay which had the greatest influence in promoting the Reformation were his *Satire on the three Estates* and his *Monarchies*.

yet had he pleasure to accompany any man for many days together.¹

The necessity that caused him to enter into the public place, besides the vocation foresaid, was :—Dean John Annan, Principal of St. Leonard's College, a rotten Papist, had long troubled John Rough in his preaching. John Knox had fortified the doctrine of the preacher by his pen, and had beaten Dean John from all his defences and compelled him to flee to his last refuge, that is, to the Authority of the Church. 'That authority,' said he, 'damneth all Lutherans and heretics. Therefore we need no farther disputation.' John Knox answered: 'Before we hold ourselves, or ye can prove us, sufficiently convict, we must define the Church, by the right notes given to us in God's Scriptures. We must discern the Immaculate Spouse of Jesus Christ from the Mother of Confusion, Spiritual Babylon, lest that imprudently we embrace a harlot instead of the chaste spouse,—yea, to speak in plain words, lest we submit ourselves to Satan, thinking that we submit ourselves to Jesus Christ. As for your Roman Kirk, as it is now corrupted, and the authority thereof, wherein stands the hope of your victory, I no more doubt but it is the synagogue of Satan, and the head thereof, called the Pope, to be that Man of Sin of whom the Apostle speaketh, than I doubt that Jesus Christ suffered by the procurement of the visible Church of

¹ When Knox lay dying in the old house still remaining in the Nether Bow of Edinburgh, he saw the elders and deacons of St. Giles for the last time on 17th November 1572. Richard Bannatyne, his secretary, tells us what took place :—'The elders and deacons came that he might bid them his last good-night, unto whom he protested that . . . he made not merchandise of the Word of God, whose message he bore, to whom he must make account for the same. In respect whereof—ALBEIT HE WAS WEAK AND A FEARFUL MAN—he feared not the faces of men ; and therefore exhorted them to stand constant in that doctrine which they had heard of his mouth, how unworthy that ever he was. So with exhortation unto them all, he commendeth them to God ; and after the Prayer read for the Sick, as it is in the Psalm Book, they departed with tears.' In *John Knox and John Knox's House* (Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier, 1898), I have quoted in full Bannatyne's pathetic account of Knox's deathbed.

Jerusalem. Yea, I offer myself, by word or writ, to prove the Roman Church this day farther degenerate from the purity which was in the days of the Apostles, than was the Church of the Jews from the ordinance given by Moses, when they consented to the innocent death of Jesus Christ.'

These words were spoken by John Knox in open audience, in the Parish Church of St. Andrews, after Dean John Annan had spoken what it pleased him, and had refused to dispute. The people, hearing the offer, cried with one consent: 'We can not all read your writings, but we may all hear your preaching. Therefore we require you in the Name of God, that ye will let us hear the probation of that which ye have affirmed. If it be true, we have been miserably deceived.'

The next Sunday was appointed to John Knox, to express his mind in the public preaching place. Which day approach-
Knox's First Sermon. ing, he took the text written in Daniel, the Seventh Chapter, 24th and 25th verses, beginning thus: 'Another king shall rise after them, and he shall be unlike unto the first, and he shall subdue three kings, and shall speak words against the Most High, and shall consume the Saints of the Most High, and think that he may change times and laws, and they shall be given into his hands, until a time, and times, and dividing of times.'

Then began he to decipher the lives of divers Popes, and the lives of all the shavelings for the most part. Their doctrine and laws he plainly proved to repugn directly to the doctrine and laws of God the Father, and of Christ Jesus His Son. This he proved by conferring (*comparing*) the Doctrine of Justification expressed in the Scriptures—which teach that 'man is justified by faith only,' and that 'the blood of Jesus Christ purgeth us from all our sins'—and the doctrine of the Papists, which attributeth justification to the Works of the Law, yea, to

the works of man's invention, as Pilgrimages, Pardons, and other such baggage.¹

In the end he said: 'If any here say'—and there were present for the University, Master John Major, Dean of the Faculty of Theology, the Sub-Prior, John Winram, and many Canons, with some Friars of both orders—'that I have alleged Scripture, Doctor, or History, otherwise than it is written, let them come to me with sufficient witnesses; and, by conference, I shall let them see, not only the original where my testimonies are written, but I shall prove that the writers meant as I have spoken.'

Of this sermon, which was the first that ever John Knox made in public,² were there divers bruits. Some said: 'OTIERS SNED (*lop qff*) THE BRANCHES OF THE PAPISTRY, BUT HE STRIKETH AT THE ROOT ALSO, TO DESTROY THE WHOLE.' Others said: 'If the Doctors and *Magistri nostri* defend not now the Pope and his authority, which in their own presence is so manifestly impugned, the Devil have my part of him, and of his laws both!' Others said: 'Master George Wishart never spoke so plainly; and yet he was burnt. Even so will John Knox be.' In the end, others said: 'The tyranny of the Cardinal made not *his* cause the better, neither yet the suffering of God's servant made *his* cause the worse. Therefore we would counsel you and them, to provide better defences than fire and sword; for it may be that else ye will be disappointed. Men now have other eyes than they had then.' This answer gave James Forsyth, the Laird of Nydie, a man fervent and upright in religion.

The bastard Bishop, who was not yet execrated—consecrated, they call it—wrote to the Sub-Prior of St. Andrews, who, *sede vacante*, was Vicar-General, that 'he wondered he suffered such heretical and schismatical doctrine to be taught,

¹ Here and elsewhere throughout the *History*, it will be observed that Knox says little or nothing about questions of church government—Episcopacy or Presbyterianism. His note is that of Protestantism and Puritanism.

² Knox was forty-two years of age when he preached his first sermon.

and not to oppose himself to the same.' Upon this rebuke was a convention of Grey and Black Friars appointed, with the Sub-Prior, Dean John Winram, in St. Leonards' Yards, whereunto was first called John Rough, and certain Articles read unto him ; and thereafter was John Knox called for. The cause of their convention, and why that they were called, was expounded ; and the Articles were read, which were these :—

Knox taken to
task by the
Friars.

I. ' No mortal man can be the Head of the Church.
II. ' The Pope is an Antichrist ; and so is no member of Christ's Mystical Body.

III. ' Man may neither make nor devise a religion that is acceptable to God : but man is bound to observe and keep the religion that from God is received, without chopping or changing thereof.

IV. ' The Sacraments of the New Testament ought to be ministered as they were institute by Christ Jesus, and practised by His Apostles. Nothing ought to be added unto them ; nothing ought to be diminished from them.

V. ' The Mass is abominable idolatry, blasphemous to the Death of Christ, and a profanation of the Lord's Supper.

VI. ' There is no Purgatory, in which the souls of men can either be pained or purged after this life. Heaven resteth to the faithful, and hell to the reprobate and unthankful.

VII. ' Praying *for* the dead is vain, and *to* the dead is idolatry.

VIII. ' There are no Bishops, except they preach by themselves, without any substitute.

IX. ' By God's law, the teinds do not appertain of necessity to the Churchmen.'

The Sub-Prior. ' The strangeness of these Articles, which are gathered forth of your doctrine, hath moved us to call for you to hear your own answers.'

John Knox. ' I, for my part, praise my God that I see so honourable and apparently so modest and quiet an auditory.

It is long since I have heard that ye [Winram] are not ignorant of the Truth. Therefore I must crave of you in the name of God, and I appeal your conscience before that Supreme Judge, that if ye think any Article there expressed contrarious to the Truth of God, that ye oppose yourself plainly unto it, and suffer not the people to be therewith deceived. But, if in your conscience ye know the doctrine to be true, then will I crave your patronage thereto; that by your authority the people may be moved to believe the Truth, whereof many doubt by reason of our youth.'

For Purgatory, Alexander Arbuckle, a Grey Friar, had no better proof but the authority of Virgil in his Sixth *Æneid*; and the pains thereof to him were an evil wife! How John Knox answered that and many other things, himself did witness in a Treatise¹ that he wrote in the Galleys, containing the sum of his doctrine and the confession of his faith, and sent to his familiars in Scotland.

After this, the Friars had no great heart for further disputation. They invented another shift, which seemed to proceed from godliness. It was this. Every learned man in the Abbey, and in the University, should preach in the Parish Kirk his Sunday about. The Sub-Prior began, followed by the Official called Master John Spittal, Rector of the University—sermons penned to offend no man!—followed by all the rest in their ranks. So John Knox smelled out the craft, and in his sermons which he made upon the week-days, he prayed to God that they should be as busy in preaching when there should be more myster (*need*) of it than there was then. 'Allwise,' said he, 'I praise God that Christ Jesus is preached, and that nothing is said publicly against the doctrine ye have heard. If in my absence they shall speak

¹ Knox probably refers to the epistle which he addressed from the French galleys to his brethren in Scotland in 1548, in connection with Henry Balnaves's *Treatise on Justification*. See Dr. Laing's edition of John Knox's *Works*, vol. iii. p. 1.

anything which in my presence they do not, I protest that ye suspend your judgment, till it please God ye hear me again.'

God so assisted His weak soldier and so blessed his labours, that not only all those of the Castle, but also a great number of the town of St. Andrews, openly professed, by participation of the Lord's Table in the same purity that now it is ministered in the churches of Scotland, that same doctrine that he had taught unto them.

Among these was he that now either rules or else misrules Scotland, to wit, Sir James Balfour,¹ sometimes called Sir James Balfour's perfidy. Master James of Pittendreich, son of Balfour of Mountquhanie, the chief and principal Protestant that then was to be found in this Realm. This we write, because we have heard that the said Master James allegeth that he was never of our religion, but that he was brought up in Martin [Luther's] opinion of the Sacrament, and therefore he can not communicate with us ! But his own conscience, and two hundred witnesses besides, know that he lies ; and that he was one of the chief that would have given his life, if men might credit his words, for defence of the doctrine that John Knox taught. But, albeit those that never were of us—as none of Mountquhanie's sons have shown themselves to be—depart from us, it is no great wonder. It is proper and natural that the children follow the father ! Let the godly beware of that race and progeny ; for, if in them be either fear of God, or love of virtue, farther than the present commodity (*advantage*) persuades them, men of judgment are deceived. But to return to our History.

The Priests and Bishops, enraged at these proceedings in St. Andrews, ran now upon the Governor, now upon the Queen, now upon the whole Council, and there Comfort for the Bishops and Priests. might have been heard complaints and cries, 'What are we doing ? Shall ye suffer this whole Realm to be infected with pernicious doctrine ? Fie

¹ Principal Robertson, in his *History of Scotland*, calls Balfour 'the most corrupt man of his age.'

upon *you*! Fie upon *us*!’ The Queen and the Seigneur D’Oysel [the French Ambassador] comforted them, and willed them to be quiet, for they should see remedy ere it was long. And so was proven indeed: for upon the penult day of June, appeared in the sight of the Castle of St. Andrews one-and-twenty French galleys, with a skeife of an army (*well provided army*), the like whereof was never seen in that Firth before.

This treasonable means had the Governor, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Queen, and Monsieur D’Oysel, under the Appointment¹ drawn. But, to excuse their treason, eight days before, they had presented an Absolution, as sent from Rome, containing, after the aggravation of the crime, this clause, *Remittimus Irremissibile*, that is, We remit the crime that cannot be remitted. This was considered by the most of the company that was in the Castle when the Castle of St. Andrews was required to be delivered; and answer was given, ‘That the Governor and Council of the Realm had promised unto them a sufficient and assured absolution, which that appeared not to be. Therefore could they not deliver the House, neither thought they that any reasonable man would require them so to do, considering that promise was not kept unto them.’

Siege and
capture of
St. Andrews
Castle by the
French, in July
1547.

The next day, after the galleys arrived, they summoned the Castle of St. Andrews, which being denied, because they knew them no magistrates (*not to be magistrates*) in Scotland, they prepared for siege. First, they began to assault by sea, and shot two days. Thereof they neither got advantage nor honour; for they dang down the slates of houses, but neither slew man, nor did harm to any wall. And the Castle handled them so, that Sancta

¹ By the ‘Appointment’ entered into in December 1546, between the Regent Arran and those within the castle of St. Andrews, a cessation of hostilities had been arranged till absolution was obtained from Rome for the murder of Cardinal Beaton.

Barbara, the gunners' goddess, helped them nothing; for they lost many of their rowers, chained in the galleys, and some soldiers, both by sea and land. Farther, a galley that approached nigher than the rest, was so dung with the cannon and other ordnance, that she would have been drowned, were it not that the rest gave her succour in time, and drew her first to the West Sands, without (*beyond*) the shot of the Castle, and thereafter to Dundee, where they remained, till the Governor came to them, with the rest of the French faction.

The siege by land was confirmed the nineteenth day of July. The trenches were cast; and ordnance was planted on the Abbey Kirk, and on St. Salvator's College, which so annoyed the Castle, that neither could they keep their Block-houses, the Sea-Tower, nor the West Wall; for in all these places were men slain by great ordnance. Yea, they mounted the ordnance high upon the Abbey Kirk, that they might discover the ground of the Court of the Castle in divers places. Moreover, within the Castle was the pest, and divers therein died, which more affrayed some that were therein, than did the external force. John Knox was of another judgment, for he ever said, 'That their corrupt life could not escape punishment of God'; and that was his continual advertisement, from the time that he was called to preach. When they triumphed—the first twenty days they had many prosperous chances—he lamented, and ever said, 'They saw not what he saw.' When they bragged of the force and thickness of their walls, he said, 'They shall be but egg-shells.' When they vaunted, 'England will rescue us,' he said, 'Ye shall not see them; but ye shall be delivered into your enemy's hands, and shall be carried to a strange country.'

Upon the penult of July, at night, was the ordnance planted for the battery; fourteen cannons, whereof four were Cannons Royal, called Double Cannons, besides other pieces. The battery began at four hours in the morning;

and before ten hours of the day, the whole south quarter, betwixt the Fore Tower and the East Block-house, was made assailable. The lower transe (*passage*) was condemned, divers slain in it, and the East Block-house was shut off from the rest of the place, betwixt ten hours and eleven. There fell a shower of rain, that continued near an hour, the like whereof had seldom been seen. It was so vehement that no man might abide without the house; and the cannons were left alone. Some within the Castle were of judgment, that men should have ished (*gone out*), and put all in the hands of God. But because William Kirkcaldy was communing with Leo Strozzi, the Prior of Capua [the French Admiral], who had the Commission of that journey from the King of France, nothing was enterprised. And so was appointment (*terms*) made, and the Castle rendered upon Saturday, the last of July [1547].

The Heads of the Appointment were: 'That the lives of all within the Castle should be saved, as well English as Scottish; that they should be safely transported to France; and in case, on the conditions to be offered them by the King of France, they could not be content to remain in service and freedom there, they should, upon the expenses of the King of France, be safely conveyed to what country they would require, other than Scotland.' With the Governor they would have nothing to do, neither yet with any Scotsman; for they had all traitorously betrayed them. 'Which,' said the Laird of Grange—a man simple and of most stout courage—'I am assured God will revenge, ere it be long.'

How the Conditions of Surrender were broken.

The galleys, well furnished with the spoil of the Castle, after certain days returned to France. Escaping a great danger—for upon the back of the sands they all chapped (*struck*)—they arrived first at Fécamp, and thereafter passed up the Water of Sequane (*Seine*), and lay before Rouen; where the principal gentlemen, who looked for freedom,

were dispersed and put in sundry prisons. The rest were left in the galleys and there miserable entreated.¹ These things were done at Rouen against promises; but Princes have no fidelity farther than for their own advantage. Then the galleys departed to Nantes, in *Bartainzie (Brittany)*, where, upon the water of Loire, they lay the whole winter.

Among those in the galleys were the foresaid Master James Balfour and his two brethren, David and Gilbert, men without God. Which we write, because we hear that Master James denies that he had anything to do with the Castle of St. Andrews, or that ever he was in the French galleys. Then was the joy of the Papists both of Scotland and of France in full perfection; for this was their song of triumph—

‘ Priests content you now ! Priests content you now !

For Norman² and his company has filled the galleys fow.’

The Pope wrote letters to the King of France and to the Governor of Scotland, thanking them heartily for taking pains to revenge the death of his kind creature, David Beaton, the Cardinal of Scotland; desiring them to continue in their begun severity, that such things thereafter should not be attempted. All these that were apprehended in the Castle were damned to perpetual prison; and so the ungodly judged, that after this Christ Jesus should never triumph in Scotland.

One thing we cannot pass by. From Scotland was sent a famous clerk—laugh not, reader !—Master John Hamilton

¹ John Rough had left the Castle before the surrender. He went to England, where he was appointed by the Archbishop of York to a benefice near Hull, and he continued in England till the death of Edward vi. in 1553, when he fled to Friesland, where he and his wife maintained themselves by knitting hosiery. Having come to London in connection with his business during the persecution under Queen Mary, he preached to a secret society of Protestants, was arrested, tried for heresy, and died at the stake on 22nd December 1557.

² Norman Leslie, one of the actors in the assassination of Cardinal Beaton.

of Milburn, with credit to the King of France, and to the Cardinal of Lorraine. Yet he had neither French nor Latin, and some say his Scottish tongue was not very good! The sum of his negotiation was, That those of the Castle should be sharply handled. In which suit he was heard with favour, and was despatched from the Court of France with letters, and great credit, which that famous clerk forgot by the way; for, passing up to the Craig of Dumbarton, before his letters were delivered, he broke his neck; and so God took away a proud, ignorant enemy.



15. Cardinal of Lorraine, uncle of Mary, Queen of Scots; in the Bibliothèque Nationale. (See also pp. 236, 334.)

In Scotland that summer was nothing but mirth; for all yeard (*went*) with the priests even at their own pleasure. The Castle of St. Andrews was rased to the ground, the Block-houses thereof cast down, and the walls round about demolished. Whether this was to fulfil their law, which commands places where Cardinals are slain so to be used, or else for fear that England should have taken it, as after they did Broughty Craig, we remit to the judgment of such as were of council.

The Castle of St. Andrews rased, 1547.

This same year, 1547, in the beginning of September, entered Scotland an army of ten thousand men from England, by land, and some ships with ordnance came by sea. The Governor and the Archbishop of St. Andrews, hereof advertised, gathered together the forces of Scotland, and assembled at Edinburgh. The Protector of England the Duke of

The English Invasion in 1547.

Somerset, with the Earl of Warwick, and their army, remained at Preston [eight miles from Edinburgh] and about Prestonpans, for they had certain offers to propone to the Nobility of Scotland, concerning the promise before made by them; unto which King Harry before his death gently required them to stand fast, promising if they so would do, of him nor of his Realm they should have no trouble, but the help and the comfort that he could make them in all things lawful. Hereupon was there a letter direct to the Governor and Council, which coming to the hands of the Bishop of St. Andrews, he thought it could not be for his advantage that it should be divulgate, and therefore by his craft it was suppressed.

Upon Friday, the 9th of September 1547, the English army marched towards Leith, and the Scottish army marched from Edinburgh to Enresk (*Inveresk*). The whole Scottish army was not assembled, and yet the skirmishing began, for nothing was concluded (*expected*) but victory without stroke. The Protector, the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Grey, and all the English Captains, were playing at the dice. No men were stouter than the Priests and Canons, with their shaven crowns and black jacks. The Earl of Warwick and the Lord Grey de Wilton, who had the chief charge of the horsemen, perceiving the host to be molested with the Scottish prickers (*light horsemen*), and knowing that the multitude were neither under order nor obedience—for they were divided from the great army—sent forth certain troops of horsemen, and some of their Borderers, either to fight them, or else to put them out of their sight, so that they might not annoy the host. The skirmish grew hot, and at length the Scotsmen gave back and fled, without again turning. The chase continued far, both towards the East and towards the West; in which many were slain, and he that now is Lord Home was taken, which was the occasion that the Castle of Home was rendered to the Englishmen. The loss of these men

neither moved the Governor nor yet the Archbishop, his bastard brother, bragging : 'They should revenge the matter well enough upon the morn ! They had hands enough'—no word of God !—'The English heretics had no faces. They would not abide.'

Upon Saturday, the armies of both sides passed to array. The English army takes the mid part of Falside Hill, in the parish of Inveresk, having their ordnance Battle of Pinkie, 1547. planted before them, and having their ships and two galleys brought as near the land as water would serve. The Scottish army stood first in a reasonable strength and good order, having betwixt them and the English army the Water of Esk, otherwise called Musselburgh Water. At length a charge was given in the Governor's behalf, with sound of trumpet, that all men should march forward, and go over the Water. Some say, that this was procured by George Durie, the Abbot of Dunfermline, and Master Hugh Rigg,¹ for preservation of Carberry. Men of judgment liked not the journey ; for they thought it no wisdom to leave their strength. But commandment upon commandment, and charge upon charge, was given, which urged them so, that unwillingly they obeyed. The Earl of Angus being in the vanguard, had in his company the Gentlemen of Fife, Angus, Mearns, and the West Land, with many others that of love resorted to him, and especially those that were professors of the Evangel ; for they supposed that England would not have made great pursuit of him. He passed first through the Water, and arrayed his host direct before the enemies. The Earl of Huntly followed with his North Land men. Last came the Duke,² having in his company the Earl

¹ According to George Buchanan, Master Rigg was not a reliable military adviser. In his *History of Scotland* he describes Rigg as 'a lawyer, more remarkable for his large body and personal strength, than for any knowledge of military affairs.'

² Knox here refers to the Earl of Arran, the Governor of Scotland, by the title Duke of Chatelherault, which he afterwards received from the King of France. (See p. 89.)

of Argyle with his own friends, and the Body of the Realm.

The Englishmen perceiving the danger, and how that the Scottishmen intended to have taken the top of the hill, made haste to prevent the peril. The Lord Grey was commanded to give the charge with his men of arms, which he did, albeit the hazard was very unlikely; for the Earl of Angus' host stood even as a wall, and received the first assaulters upon the points of their spears—which were longer than those of the Englishmen—so rudely, that fifty horse and men of the first rank lay dead at once, without any hurt done to the Scottish army, except that the spears of the two front ranks were broken. This discomfiture received, the rest of the English horsemen fled; yea, some passed beyond Falside Hill. The Lord Grey himself was hurt in the mouth, and plainly denied to charge again; for he said, 'It was alike as to run against a wall!' The galleys and the ships, and so did the ordnance planted upon the mid hill, shot terribly; and the ordnance of the galleys, shooting along the Scottish army, affrayed them wondrously. And while every man laboured to draw from the north, whence the danger appeared, they began to reel, and with that were the English footmen marching forward, albeit that some of their horsemen were upon the flight. The Earl of Angus' army stood still, looking that either the Earl of Huntly or the Duke should have rencountered the next battle. But they had decreed that the favourers of England, and the Heretics,—as the Priests called them—and the Englishmen, should part it betwixt them for that day.

The fear riseth, and in an instant they who before were victors, and were not yet assaulted with any force, except with ordnance, cast from them their spears and fled. God's power was so evidently seen, that in one moment, yea, at an instant of time, both the armies were fleeing! The shout came from the hill, from those that hoped no victory upon the English part; the shout rises, 'They flee, they flee'; but

at first it could not be believed, till at last it was clearly seen that all had given back; and then began a cruel slaughter, which was the greater by reason of the late displeasure of the men of arms. The chase and slaughter lasted till nigh Edinburgh upon the one part, and be-west Dalkeith upon the other. The number of the slain upon the Scottish side was judged nigh ten thousand men.¹ The Earl of Huntly was taken and carried to London; but he relieved himself, being surety for many ransoms—honestly or dishonestly we know not; but, as the bruit passed, he used policy with England. In that same battle was slain the Master of Erskine, eldest son of the Earl of Mar, dearly beloved of the Queen-Dowager, for whom she made great lamentation, and bore his death many days in mind. When the certainty of the discomfiture came, she was in Edinburgh, abiding upon tidings; but with expedition she posted that same night to Stirling, with Monsieur D'Oysel, who was 'as fleyed (*frightened*) as a fox when his hole is smoked.' Thus did God take the second revenge upon the perjured Governor, with such as assisted him to defend an unjust quarrel; albeit many innocents fell amongst the midst of the wicked. The English army came to Leith, and there taking order with their prisoners and spoil, they returned with this victory, which they looked not for, to England.

That winter following was great herschip (*depredation*) made upon all the borders of Scotland. Broughty Craig was taken by the Englishmen, and besieged by the Governor, but still kept; and at it was slain Gawin, the best of the Hamiltons, and the ordnance left. Whereupon, the Englishmen, encouraged, began to fortify upon the hill above Broughty House, which was called the Fort of Broughty,

¹ William Patten, who was present on the English side, states that the dead Scots were 'stripped out of their garments stark naked' by the victors. He adds:—'For their tallness of stature, cleanness of skin, bigness of bone, with due proportion in all parts, I for my part advisedly noted to be such, as but that I well saw that it was so, I would not have believed sure so many of that sort to have been in all their country.'—*Expedition into Scotland*.

and was very noisome to Dundee, which it burned and laid waste; and so did it the most part of Angus, which was not assured and under friendship with them.

That Lent following, was Haddington fortified by the Englishmen. The most part of Lothian, from Edinburgh east, was either assured or laid waste. Thus did God plague in every quarter; but men were blind, and would not, or could not, consider the cause. The Lairds Ormiston and Brune-stane were banished, and after forfeited;¹ and so were all those of the Castle of St. Andrews. The sure knowledge of the troubles of Scotland coming to France, there was prepared a navy and army. The navy was such as never was seen to come from France for the support of Scotland; for, besides the galleys, being twenty-two in number, they had threescore great ships, besides victuallers. How soon so ever they took the plain seas, the Red Lion of Scotland was displayed, and they holden as rebels unto France—such policy is no falset in Princes—for good peace stood betwixt France and England, and the King of France approved nothing that they did! The chief men, to whom the conducting of that army was committed, were Monsieur Dandelot, Monsieur de Termes, and Pierre Strozzi. In their journey they made some herschip upon the coast of England; but it was not great. The galleys did visit the fort of Broughty, but did no more at that time. Preparations were made for the siege of Haddington; but it was another thing that they meant, as the issue declared.

The whole Body of the Realm assembled, and the form of a Parliament was holden in the Abbey of Haddington. The principal head was the marriage of the Princess [Mary, Queen of Scots]—by them before contracted to King Edward—to the [future] King of France, and of her present delivery, by reason of the danger she stood in by the invasion of our old enemies of England. Some were corrupted with buddis

The Scots
Parliament
declares for
France, in July
1548.

¹ In Vautrollier's edition (1586), 'sore assaulted.'

(*bribes*); some deceived by flattering promises; and some for fear were compelled to consent; for the French soldiers were the Officers of Arms in that Parliament. Sir Walter Scott, the Laird of Balclewcht (*Buccleuch*), a bloody man, swore, with many God's Wounds, 'They that would not consent should do worse!' The Governor got the Duchy of Chatelherault from the King of France, with the French Order of the Cockle [St. Michael], and a full discharge of all intromissions with King James the Fifth, his treasure and substance whatsoever, and with possession of the Castle of Dumbarton, till that issue should be seen of the Queen's body. Huntly, Argyle, and Angus were likewise made Knights of the Cockle. So was the Princess sold to go to France, to the end that in her youth she should drink of that liquor, that should remain with her all her lifetime, for a plague to this realm, and for her final destruction. Therefore, albeit that now a fire cometh out from her that consumes many, let no man wonder. She is God's hand, in His displeasure punishing our former ingratitude.¹ . . .

¹ Marian controversialists on both sides seem to forget Mary's upbringing, to which Knox, in this passage, properly attaches so much importance. She was sent to France at the age of five, and remained there, without revisiting Scotland, for twelve years. She was educated at the most dissolute Court in Europe, under the influence of her uncles, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, of Diana of Poitiers, the French king's mistress, and of her future mother-in-law, Catharine de' Medici—'the Italian she-wolf,' as Motley the historian calls her, but 'a little saint' according to Pope Paul iv.—who all, to licentious lives and habitual disregard for truth and the sacredness of human life, joined cruel persecution of Reformed opinions—persecution which had the avowed object not of conversion, but of extermination. 'Debauchery of all kinds, and murder in all forms, were the daily matter of excitement or of jest to the brilliant circle which revolved around Queen Catharine de' Medici.'—(Algernon C. Swinburne in 'Mary Stuart,' *Encyclopædia Britannica*.) Sir John Skelton labours to prove that Mary, while in France, was not exposed to Catharine's malign influence. But, in writing to Catharine on 30th April 1570, Mary refers to 'the honour [?] that I have had in being nurtured in your family as your very obedient daughter.' Mary may have gone to France a Scotch woman and a Stuart; she returned a French woman and a Guise. The result was foreshadowed by Henry II. when, on her arrival in France, he exclaimed, 'La France et l'Ecosse ne font plus qu'un'—'France and Scotland are now one country.'

The conclusion having been taken that our Queen, but (*without*) farther delay, should be delivered to France, the
The Siege of Haddington by the French, 1548. siege of Haddington continued—great shooting, but no assaulting. From the time the Frenchmen got the bone for which the dog barked, the pursuit of the town was slow.

At last the siege was raised, and the Queen was conveyed [in July 1548] by the West Seas to
Mary, Queen of Scots taken to France. France, with four galleys and some ships; and so the Cardinal of Lorraine got her in his keeping—a morsel, assure you, meet for his own mouth!

We omit many things that occurred in this time—as the sitting down of the ship called ‘The Cardinal,’ the fairest ship in France, betwixt St. Colm’s Inch and Cramond, without any occasion, except negligence; for the day was fair, and the weather calm; but God would show, that the country of Scotland can bear no Cardinals! In this time also, there was a combat betwixt the French galleys and the English ships; they shot fracklie (*boldly*) a while. An English ship took fire, or else the galleys had come short home, and, as it was, they fled without mercy, till they were above St. Colm’s Inch. The Captains left the galleys, and took a fort made upon the Inch for their defence. But the English ships made no pursuit, except that they burnt ‘The Cardinal’ where she lay; and so the galleys and the galley-men did both escape.

Order was taken, that next September, some galleys should remain in Scotland, and that the rest should return to France; as they did all, except one that was taken by an English ship betwixt Dover and Calais.

That winter remained Monsieur D’Essé in Scotland, with the bands of Frenchmen. They fortified Inveresk, to stay the English, that they should not invade Edinburgh and Leith. Some skirmishes there were betwixt the one and the other, but no notable thing done, except that the French

had almost taken Haddington ; the occasion whereof was this :—

The French, thinking themselves more than masters in all parts of Scotland, and in Edinburgh principally, thought they could do no wrong to a Scottishman. A certain Frenchman delivered a culverin to George Tod, Scottishman, to be stocked, who bringing it through the street, another Frenchman clamed (*seized*) it, and would have reft it from the said George ; but he resisted, alleging that the Frenchman did wrong. Parties began to assemble, as well to the Scottishman as to the French. Two of the Frenchmen were stricken down, and the rest chased from the Cross to Niddry's Wynd-head. The Provost being upon the street, apprehended two of the French, and was carrying them to the Tolbooth ; but from Monsieur d'Essé's lodging and close issued forth Frenchmen, to the number of threescore persons, with drawn swords, and resisted the Provost. The town assembling repulsed them, till they came to the Nether Bow. There Monsieur de la Chapelle, with the whole bands of Frenchmen in arms, rencountered the said Provost and repulsed him—for the town were without weapons, for the most part—and made invasion upon all they met. First, in the throat of the Bow, were slain David Kirk and David Barbour, being at the Provost's back ; and thereafter were slain the Provost himself, being Laird of Stenhouse and Captain of the Castle, James Hamilton, his son, William Chapman, a godly man, Master William Stewart, William Purves, and a woman named Elizabeth Stewart. Thereafter the French tarried within the town, by force, from five hours, till after seven at night, and then retired to the Canougate, as to their receptacle and refuge.

French ruffian-
ism in Edin-
burgh, in
October 1548.

The whole town—yea, the Governor and Nobility—moved at the unworthiness of this bold attempt, craved justice upon the malefactors, or else they would take justice

of the whole.¹ The Queen, crafty enough, Monsieur D'Essé, and Monsieur D'Oysel, laboured for pacification, and did promise: 'That unless the Frenchmen should recompense the wrong they had done, then they should not refuse, but that justice should be executed to the rigour.' These fair words pleased our fools, and so were the French bands the next night directed to Haddington, to which they approached a little after midnight so secretly, that they were never espied, till the foremost were within the Basse Court, and the whole company in the church-yard, not two pair of butt-lengths from the town.

The soldiers, Englishmen, were all asleep, except the watch, which was slender. The shout arises, 'Bows and bills! Bows and bills!' which is a signification of extreme defence, to avoid present danger, in all times of war. They, affrayed, arise; weapons that first come to hand serve for the need. One amongst many came to the East Port, where lay two great pieces of ordnance, and where the enemies were known to be, and cried to his fellows that were at the yett making defence, 'Ware before,' and so fires a great piece, and thereafter another, which God so conducted, that after them was no farther pursuit made. The bullets redounded from the wall of the Friars' Kirk to the wall of St. Katherine's Chapel, which stood direct foreanent it, and from the wall of the said Chapel to the said Kirk wall again, so oft, that there fell more than one hundred of the French, at those two shots only. They shot oft, but the French retired with diligence, and returned to Edinburgh, without harm done, except the destruction of some drinking-beer, which lay in the Chapel and Kirk. This was satisfaction more

¹ 'The unbridled excesses of the French troops in Scotland, no less than the shameful rapacity of the French agents, aroused a general spirit of resistance in Scotland, and England soon found in the rupture of the ancient alliance between France and Scotland an ample indemnification for the loss of Calais.'—TEULET'S *Papiers d'Etat*, i. 12.

than enough for the slaughter of the said Captain and Provost, and such as were slain with him. This was the beginning of the French fruits !

This winter, in the time of Christen Masse, was the Castle of Home recovered from the English, by the negligence of the Captain named Sir Edward Dudley.

This winter also did Sir John Melville, the Laird of Raith, most innocently suffer, and after was forfeited because he wrote a bill (*letter*) to his son, John Melville, who then was in England, which was alleged to have been found in the house of Orniston; but many suspected the paucks (*emning*) and craft of Ringzeane (*Ninian*) Cockburn, now called Captain Ringzeane, to whom the said letter was delivered. But howsoever it was, these cruel beasts, the Bishop of St. Andrews and the Abbot of Dunfermline, ceased not till the head of the said noble man was stricken from him; especially because he was known to be one that unfeignedly favoured the truth of God's Word, and was a great friend of those that had been in the Castle of St. Andrews, of whose deliverance and of God's wondrous working with them during the time of their bondage, we must now speak, lest, in suppressing so notable a work of God, we might justly be accused of ingratitude.

The principals being put in several houses, great labour was made to make them have a good opinion of the Mass. Chiefly travail was taken upon Norman Leslie, the Laird of Grange, and David Monypenny, the Laird of Pitmilly, who were in the Castle of Scherisburgh (*Cherbourg*), that they would come to Mass with the Captain. Who answered: 'The Captain hath commandment to keep our bodies; but he hath no power to command our conscience.' The Captain replied: 'That he had power to compel them to go where he yead' (*went*). They answered: 'To go to any lawful place with you we would not refuse; but to do anything that is against our conscience, we would not, neither for you, nor

The fate of the
Protestant
prisoners in
France.

yet for the King.' The Captain said : ' Will ye not go to the Mass ? ' They answered : ' No ; and if ye compel us, we will displease you farther ; for we shall so use ourselves there, that all those present shall know that we despise it.'

These same answers, and somewhat sharper, William Kirkcaldy, Peter Carmichael, and such as were with them in Mount St. Michael in Normandy, gave to their Captain. They said : ' They would not only hear Mass every day, but they would help to say it ; provided they might stick the priests !'

Master Henry Balnaves, who was in the Castle of Rouen, was most sharply assaulted of all. Because he was judged learned—as he was, and is, indeed—therefore learned men were appointed to travail with him. He had many conflicts with them ; but God so assisted him, that they departed confounded, and he, by the power of God's Spirit, remained constant in the truth and profession of the same, without any wavering or declining to idolatry. In the prison he wrote a most profitable Treatise on Justification.¹

At certain times the Mass was said in the galleys, or else heard upon the shore, and those that were in the galleys were threatened with torments if they would not give reverence to the Mass. But they could never make the poorest of that company to give reverence to that idol. Yea, when upon the Saturday at night they sang their *Salve Regina*, the whole Scottishmen put on their caps, their hoods, or such things as they had to cover their heads ; and when others were compelled to kiss a painted board (board), which they called ' Notre Dame,' they were not pressed after once ; for this was the chance :—

Soon after their arrival at Nantes, their great *Salve* was

¹ As we have already seen, John Knox was induced to undertake the work of a preacher through the agency of Balnaves, a Judge of the Court of Session, and of Sir David Lyndsay, Poet-Laureate of Scotland, and of John Rough, a Franciscan friar. Balnaves was a theologian as well as a learned lawyer. His *Treatise on Justification*, with an introductory epistle by Knox, is printed by Dr. Laing in the third volume of his edition of Knox's *Works*.

sung, and a glorious painted Lady was brought in to be kissed, and, amongst others, was presented to one of the Scottishmen then chained. He gently said: 'Trouble me not. Such an idol is accursed; therefore I will not touch it.' The Patron (*Skipper*) and the Arguesyn (*Lieutenant*), with two officers, having the chief charge of all such matters, said, 'Thou shalt handle it'; and they violently thrust it to his face, and put it betwixt his hands. He, seeing the extremity, took the idol, and advisedly looking about him, cast it into the river, and said: 'LET OUR LADY NOW SAVE HERSELF. SHE IS LIGHT ENOUGH; LET HER LEARN TO SWIM'! After that was no Scotsman urged with that idolatry!¹

These are things that appear to be of no great importance. Yet, if we do rightly consider, they express the same obedience that God required of His people Israel, when they were to be carried to Babylon. He gave charge to them, that when they should see the Babylonians worship their gods of gold, silver, metal, and wood, they should say: 'The gods that have not made the Heaven and the Earth shall perish from the Heaven and out of the Earth.'

But to proceed. Master James Balfour and John Knox being in one galley, and being wondrous familiar, Master James would oftentimes ask Knox's judgment, 'If he thought that ever they should be delivered?' Whose answer was ever, from the day they entered into the galleys, 'God will deliver us from this bondage, to His glory, even in this life.' Lying betwixt Dundee and St. Andrews, the second time the galleys returned to Scotland, the said John Knox being so extremely sick that few hoped his life, Master James willed him to look to the land, and asked him if he knew it; who answered, 'Yes; I know it well. I see the steeple of

¹ 'Scottish John Knox, such World-Hero as we know, sat once, nevertheless, pulling grim-taciturn at the oar of French galley, and even flung their Virgin-Mary over, instead of kissing her—as a "pented brodd" or timber Virgin who could naturally swim! So, ye of Château-Vieux, tug patiently, not without hope!'—THOMAS CARLYLE in *The French Revolution*, vol. ii. bk. ii. ch. vi.

that place where God first in public opened my mouth to His glory, and I am fully persuaded, how weak soever I now appear, I shall not depart this life till my tongue shall glorify His Holy Name in the same place.' This reported Master James in presence of many famous witnesses many years before ever John Knox set his foot in Scotland this last time to preach.¹

William Kirkcaldy, then of Grange, younger, Peter Carmichael, Robert and William Leslie, who were together in Mont St. Michel, wrote to John Knox, asking his counsel, 'If they might with safe conscience break their prison?' Whose answer was, 'If without the blood of any spilt by them for their deliverance, they might set themselves at freedom, then they might safely take it. But to shed any man's blood for their freedom, thereto would he never consent.' Adding further, 'I am assured that God will deliver you, and the rest of your company, even in the eyes of the world; but not by such means as ye have looked for, that is by the force of friends, or by your own labours.' By such means he affirmed that God would so work in the deliverance of them, that the praise thereof should redound to His glory only. He willed, therefore, every one to take the occasion that God offered them, providing they did nothing against God's express commandment. He was the more earnest in giving his counsel, because the old Laird of Grange and others repugned to their purpose, fearing lest the escaping of the others should be an occasion of their own worse entreatment. Whereunto the said John Knox answered: 'Such fear proceedeth not from God's Spirit, but only from a blind love of self. No good purpose is to be stayed for (*on account of*) things

Knox forbids
liberty ob-
tained by
bloodshed.

¹ 'Knox was a galley slave. The master of the galley was glad to be rid of him; because he never had good success so long as he kept that holy man in slavery, whom also when in danger of tempest he, though an arrant Papist, would desire to commend him and his galley to God in his prayers.'—*T. Stapleton and Martiall, two Popish heretics, confuted by Dr. Fulke, Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, 1580.* (Compare p. 175.)

that are in the hands and power of God.' And added: 'In one instant God delivered all that company into the hands of unfaithful men, but so will He not relieve them. Some will He deliver by one means, and at one time; and others must abide for a season upon His good pleasure.'

This counsel in the end they embraced. Upon the Kings' Even [5th January 1549], when Frenchmen commonly use to drink liberally, the foresaid four persons, having the help and conducting of a boy of the House, bound all those that were in the Castle in Mont St. Michel, put them in sundry houses, locked the doors upon them, took the keys from the Captain, and departed, without harm done to the person of any, and without touching of any thing that appertained to the King, the Captain, or the House.

Great search was made through the whole country for them. But it was God's good pleasure so to conduct them, that they escaped the hands of the faithless, albeit with long travaill and great pain and poverty. The French boy left them, and took with him their small poise (*treasure*). So, having neither money nor knowledge of the country, and fearing that the boy should discover them—as in very deed he did—they took purpose to divide themselves, and to change their garments. The two brethren, William and Robert Leslie—who now are become, the said Robert especially, enemies to Christ Jesus and to all virtue—came to Rouen. William Kirkcaldy and Peter Carmichael, in beggars' garments, came to Le Conquet, in Brittany, and by the space of twelve or thirteen weeks they travelled as poor mariners, from port to port, till at length they got a French ship, and landed in the West, and thence came to England, where they met John Knox, who that same winter was delivered, and Alexander Clerk of Balbirnie in his company.¹

¹ Writing to one of his London correspondents, Mrs. Anna Locke, an ancestress of John Locke, the philosopher, on 31st December 1559, Knox says that he endured 'the torments of the galleys for the space of nineteen months.'

CHAPTER V

FROM JOHN KNOX'S EMPLOYMENT IN ENGLAND BY EDWARD
VI. AND HIS PRIVY COUNCIL, 1549 TO 1553, TO
THE TRAGEDY OF ST. GILES IN 1558.

THE said John Knox was first appointed Preacher to
Knox's Berwick; then to Newcastle; last he was
History from called to London and to the south parts of
1549 to 1555. England, where he remained to the death of
King Edward the Sixth.¹

When he left England, he then passed to Geneva,² and there remained at his private study, till he was called by the English Congregation, then assembled at Frankfort, to be Preacher to them.³ Which vocation he obeyed, albeit unwillingly, at the commandment of that notable servant of God, John Calvin. At Frankfort he remained, till some of the learned, whose names we suppress, more given to

¹ In this modest sentence John Knox disposes of his English residence of five years, making no reference to his appointment as a Royal Chaplain to Edward VI., before whom he frequently preached at Windsor, Hampton Court, St. James's and Westminster, nor to the share he took in the preparation of the Book of Common Prayer and the Articles of the Church of England, nor to his declination first of the Bishopric of Rochester, and afterwards of the vicarage of All Hallows in London. His appointment as preacher to Berwick and Newcastle was made by the Privy Council of England.

² His colleague at Geneva was Christopher Goodman, B.D. of the University of Oxford. The congregation, which freely elected Knox as their preacher and pastor, embraced some of the greatest English scholars of the time, including Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, the translator of the Bible, who acted as an elder in the congregation. During the persecutions under Mary of England, fully eight hundred English Protestants took refuge on the Continent.

³ His colleague at Frankfort was Thomas Lever, M.A., Master of St. John's College, Cambridge. An interesting account of the disputes which led to Knox withdrawing from Frankfort is given by Dr. Lorimer in his *Knox and the Church of England*.

unprofitable ceremonies than to sincerity of religion, began to quarrel with the said John. They despaired to prevail before the Magistrates there for the establishing of their corruptions; so they accused him of treason committed

Jo Harley
 Wilmyr Bill.
 Robertus Horne
 Andreas Perne.
 Edmundus Grindall
 Jo Knox

16. Facsimile of Signatures of Edward the Sixth's Chaplains-in-Ordinary.

These signatures were appended to a copy in Latin of the Articles of the Church of England submitted to the Royal Chaplains for revision. Of these, *Grindall* became Archbishop of Canterbury, *Horne*, Bishop of Winchester, *Harley*, Bishop of Hereford, *Bill*, Dean of Westminster, and *Perne*, Dean of Ely. High office was also tendered to John Knox. In 1552 he declined the Bishopric of Rochester, offered to him at the instigation of Robert Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, with the approval of Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State.

against the Emperor Charles v., and against their Sovereign, Queen Marie of England, because in his *Admonition to England*,¹ he called the one little inferior to Nero, and the other more cruel than Jezebel. The Magistrates, perceiving their malice, and fearing that John Knox should fall into the hands of his accusators, by one means or another gave advertisement secretly to him to depart their city, because they could not save him if he were required by the Emperor, or by the Queen of England in the Emperor's name. So the said John returned to Geneva, from thence to Dieppe, and thereafter to Scotland.

¹ See *The Works of John Knox*, edited by David Laing, LL.D., vol. iii. p. 257.

The time the galleys remained in Scotland that winter there were delivered Master James Balfour, his two brethren, David and Gilbert, Sir John Auchinleck, John Sibbald, Master John Gray, parson of St. Nicholas Kirk, near Cupar, William Guthrie, and Stephen Bell. By the procurement of the Queen Dowager to the Cardinal of Lorraine and to the King of France, the Gentlemen that remained in prison

Deliverance
of the other
Protestant
prisoners.



17. Cathedral of Rochester. (See page 99.)

John Knox was offered, and declined, the Bishopric of Rochester.

were set at liberty in the month of July, Anno 1550. Short thereafter they were called to Scotland; peace was proclaimed; and they themselves were restored to their lands, in despite of their enemies. That was done in hatred of the Duke of Chatelherault, Governor of Scotland, because France began to thirst to have the regiment of Scotland in their own hands. Howsoever it was, God made the hearts of their enemies to set them at liberty. There rested a number of common servants yet in the galleys,

who were all delivered upon the Contract of Peace that was made betwixt France and England, after the taking of Boulogne. So was the whole company set at liberty, none perishing except James Melvin, who departed from the misery of this life in the Castle of Brest, in Brittany.

This we write to let posterity understand how potently God wrought in delivering those that had but a small knowledge of His Truth, but for the love of the same hazarded all. If we now, having greater light, or our posterity, shall see a fearful dispersion of such as oppose themselves to impiety—if, we say, we or they shall see such left of men, yea, as it were, despised and punished of God, yet let us not condemn the persons that punish vice for just causes: nor yet despair, but that the same God that dejects, for causes unknown to us, will raise up again the persons dejected, to His glory and their comfort.

David Rizzio.

To let the world understand in plain terms what we mean, that great abuser of this Commonwealth, that poltroon and vile knave Davie was justly punished, the ninth of March, in the year of God 1565, for abusing the Commonwealth, and for his other villanies, which we list not to express, by the counsel and hands of James Douglas, Earl of Morton, Patrick, Lord Lyndsay, and the Lord Ruthven, with others, assisters in their company, who all, for their just act, and most worthy of all praise, are now unworthily left of their brethren, and suffer the bitterness of banishment and exile.¹ But this is our hope in the

¹ 'Her Majesty had three varlets of her chamber that sang three parts, and wanted a bass to sing the fourth part. Therefore they told Her Majesty of this man [David Rizzio] to be their fourth marrow, in sort that he was drawn in to sing sometimes with the rest. Afterward, when the Ambassador, his master, returned [to Savoy], he stayed in this country, and was retained in Her Majesty's service as a varlet of her chamber.'—(*Memoirs of Sir James Melville*, p. 102.) 'David Riccio now worketh all, and is only Governor to the King and his family. Great is his pride, and his words intolerable. People have small joy in this new master, and find nothing but that God must either send him a short end,

Mercies of our God, that this same blind generation, whether it will or not, shall be compelled to see that He will have respect to them that are unjustly pursued; that He will pardon their former offences; that He will restore them to the liberty of their Country and Commonwealth again; and that He will punish, in despite of man, the head and the tail, that now trouble the just, and maintain impiety. The head is known. The tail hath two branches,—the Temporal Lords that maintain her abominations, and her flattering counsellors, blasphemous Balfour, now called Clerk of Register, Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig and Bishop of Brechin, blind of one eye in the body, but of both in the soul, upon whom God shortly after took vengeance; John Leslie,¹ priest's gett (*bastard*), Abbot of Lindores and Bishop of Ross, Simon Preston of Craigmillar, a right Epicurean, whose end will be, ere it be long, according to their works. But now to return to our History.

Much herschip was done in the country; for what the Englishmen destroyed not, that was consumed
 Haddington's contempt of God's messenger. by the French. At length God begins to fight for Scotland. In the town of Haddington He sent a pest so contagious, that with great difficulty could they have their dead buried. They

or them a miserable life. The dangers to those he now hateth are great. Either he must be taken away; or they [must] find some support that what he intendeth to others may fall upon himself.'—*Randolph to Cecil*, 3rd June 1565. In the text, Knox fails to remember—see page 114—that the end cannot justify the means, and has no word of denunciation, as he ought to have had, of the brutality which was displayed by Lords Morton, Lindsay, and Ruthven, even in the presence of the Queen. But it is fair to remember that his defence of these nobles was written when smarting under the hardship of undeserved banishment from Edinburgh; and further, that it is in striking contrast to the scrupulous regard for the sanctity of human life which Knox usually displayed, as, for instance, in the advice given by him to the Scots Protestant prisoners in Mont St. Michel (page 96).

¹ The Bishop of Ross was a natural son of Gawin Leslie, parson of Kingussie. His illegitimacy is proved by the terms of a Dispensation in his favour dated in 1538, referred to by Bishop Keith in his *Historical Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*. Further as to Bishop Leslie, see pp. xxvi, 243.

were oft refreshed with new men, but all was in vain. Hunger and pest within, and the pursuit of the enemy intercepting all victuals—except when they were brought by a convoy from Berwick—so constrained them that the Privy Council of England was compelled in spring time to call their forces from that place. Spuilzeing (*plundering*) and burning some part of the town, the English left it to be occupied to such as first should take possession,—and those were the Frenchmen, with a mean number of the ancient inhabitants.

So did God perform the words and threatening of His servant Master George Wishart, who said: ‘For their contempt of God’s messenger, they should be visited with sword and fire, with pestilence, strangers and famine.’ All this they found in such perfection, that to this day that town of Haddington has neither recovered the former beauty, nor yet men of such wisdom and ability as then did inhabit it.

Hereafter [at Boulogne, on 24th March 1550] was peace contracted betwixt France, England, and Scotland, yea, a several peace was contracted betwixt Scotland and Flanders, together with all the Easterlings; so that Scotland had peace with the world. But yet would their Bishops make war against God; for how soon they got any quietness, they apprehended ADAM WALLACE, a simple man, without great learning, but one that was zealous in godliness and of an upright life. He, with his wife, Beatrix Livingstone, frequented the company of the Lady Ormiston, Alison Sandilands, wife of John Cockburn of Ormiston, for instruction of her children, during the trouble of her husband, who then was banished. This bastard, called Bishop of St. Andrews,¹

Adam Wallace
before the
Bishops and
the Governor.

¹ The Archbishop of St. Andrews was an illegitimate brother of the Duke of Chatellerault. Writing to Cecil on 15th January 1562, Randolph tells us that the Archbishop was cured of a serious illness by the famous physician, Jerome Cardan, brought from Italy for the purpose. The method of cure consisted in feeding the Primate on ‘young whelps,’ and hanging him up by the heels for certain hours each day!

took the said Adam forth of the Place of Winton, in East Lothian, and carried him to Edinburgh. There he was presented to judgment in the Kirk of the Black thieves *alias* Friars, before the Duke, the Earl of Huntly, the Bishops and their rabble. They begin to accuse him—Master John Lauder, Archdeacon of Teviotdale, was Accusator—‘That he took upon him to preach.’ He answered: ‘That he never judged himself worthy of so excellent a vocation, and therefore he never took upon him to preach. But he would not deny, but sometimes at table, and sometimes in other privy places, he would read, and had read the Scriptures, and had given such exhortation as God pleased to give him, to such as pleased to hear him.’

The Accusator. ‘Knave! What have ye to do to meddle with the Scriptures?’

Adam Wallace. ‘I think it is the duty of every Christian to seek the will of his God, and the assurance of His salvation, where it is to be found, and that is within the Old and New Testament.’

The Accusator. ‘What then shall we leave to the Bishops and Kirkmen to do, if every man shall be a babbler upon the Bible?’

Adam Wallace. ‘It becometh you to speak more reverently of God and of His Blessed Word. If the judge were uncorrupt, he would punish you for your blasphemy. But to your question, I answer, That albeit you and I, and other five thousand within this realm, should read the Bible, and speak of it what God should give us to speak, yet left we more to the Bishops to do, than either they will or can do. We leave to them publicly to preach the Evangel of Jesus Christ, and to feed the flock, which He hath redeemed by His own blood, and hath commended the same to the care of all true pastors. When we leave this unto them, methinks we leave to them a heavy burden, and that we do them no wrong, although we search our own salvation where it is to be found, considering that they are but dumb

dogs, and unsavoury salt, that has altogether lost the season.'

The Bishops, hereat offended, said, 'What prating is this? Let his accusation be read.' And then was begun, 'False traitor! Heretic! Thou baptized thy own bairn. Thou saidst there is no Purgatory. Thou saidst that to pray to Saints and for the Dead is idolatry and a vain superstition. What sayest thou to these things?'

He answered: 'If I should be bound to answer, I would require an upright and an indifferent judge.'

The Earl of Huntly, Lord High Chancellor, disdainfully said, 'Foolish man! Wilt thou desire another judge nor my Lord Duke's Grace, great Governor of Scotland, and my Lords the Bishops, and the Clergy here present?'

Adam Wallace. 'The Bishops can be no judges to me; for they are open enemies to me and to the doctrine that I profess. As for my Lord Duke, I cannot tell if he hath the knowledge that should be in him that should discern betwixt lies and the truth, the inventions of men and the true worshipping of God. I desire God's Word'—and with that he produced the Bible—'to be judge betwixt the Bishops and me; and I am content that ye all hear; and if by this book I shall be convict to have taught, spoken, or done, in matters of religion, anything that repugneth to God's will, I refuse not to die. But if I can not be convict, as I am assured by God's Word I shall not, then I, in God's Name, desire your assistance, that malicious men execute not upon me unjust tyranny.'

The Earl of Huntly. 'What a babbling fool is this! Thou shalt get none other judges than those that sit here.'

Adam Wallace. 'The good Will of God be done! But be ye assured, my Lord, with such measure as ye mete to others, with the same measure it shall be mete to you again. I know that I shall die, but be ye assured, that my blood shall be required at your hands.'

Alexander, Earl of Glencairn, yet alive, said to Robert

Reid, the Bishop of Orkney, and others that sat nigh him, 'Take heed, all ye, my Lords of the Clergy. Here I protest, for my part, that I consent not to his death.' Then, without fear, prepared the said Adam to answer. And first, to the baptizing of his own child, he said: 'It was and is as lawful to me, for lack of a true minister, to baptize my own child, as it was to Abraham to circumcise his son Ishmael and his family. As for Purgatory, Praying to Saints, and for the Dead, I have oft read both the New and Old Testaments; but I neither could find mention nor assurance of them. Therefore, I believe, they are but mere inventions of men, devised for covetousness' sake.' 'Well,' quoth the Bishop, 'ye hear this, my Lords.' 'What sayest thou of the Mass?' speirs (*enquires*) the Earl of Huntly. He answered, 'I say, my Lord, as my Master Jesus Christ saith, "That which is in greatest estimation before men, is abomination before God."' Then all cried out, 'Heresy! Heresy!' And so was the simple servant of God adjudged to the fire; which he patiently sustained that same day, at afternoon, upon the Castle hill.

So began they again to pollute the land, which God had lately plagued. Yet their iniquity was not come to so full ripeness, as that God would that they should be manifested to this whole realm—as this day they are—to be faggots prepared for the Everlasting Fire, and to be men whom neither plagues may correct, nor the light of God's Word convert from their darkness and impiety.

The Peace contracted, the Queen Dowager passed by sea to France [in September 1550], with galleys that for that purpose were prepared, and took with her divers of the Nobility of Scotland, to wit, the Earls Huntly, Glencairn, Marischall, Cassillis, the Lords Maxwell and Fleming, Sir George Douglas, together with all the King's [natural] sons, and divers Barons and Gentlemen of Ecclesiastical Estate, the Bishop of Galloway, and many others, with promises that they should be richly rewarded for their good service. What they

The Queen
Regent and
the advance-
ment of
France.

received we can not tell ; but few [of them] made ruse (*boast*) at their returning. The Dowager had to practise somewhat with her brethren, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, the weight whereof the Governor afterward felt ; for shortly after her return was the Governor deposed of the government—justly by God, but most unjustly by men—and she was made Regent in the year of God 1554, and a crown put upon her head ; as seemly a sight, if men had eyes, as to put a saddle upon the back of an unruly cow !¹ And so began she to practise—practise upon practise—how France might be advanced, her friends made rich, and she brought to immortal glory. This was her common talk :—‘ So that I may procure the wealth and honour of my friends, and a good fame unto myself, I regard not what God do after with me.’ And in very deed, in deep dissimulation, to bring her own purpose to effect, she passed the common sort of women, as we will after hear. But yet God, to whose Evangel she declared herself enemy, in the end frustrated her of all her devices.

Thus did light and darkness strive within the Realm of Scotland—the darkness ever before the world suppressing the light—from the death of that notable servant of God, Master Patrick Hamilton, to the death of Edward the Sixth, the most godly and most virtuous King that hath been known to have reign in England, or elsewhere, these many years by-past, who departed the miseries of this life the 6th of July, Anno 1553. The death of this Prince was lamented of all the godly within Europe ; for the graces given unto him of God—as well of nature, as of erudition and godliness—passed the measure that accustomedly useth to be given to other Princes in their greatest perfection ; and yet

The most
godly and
most virtuous
King, Edward
VI.

¹ A reference to *Melville's Memoirs* (Bannatyne Club), pages 21 and 73, will show that the supplanting of the Regent Arran was denounced by Archbishop Hamilton, the head of the Papal Hierarchy in Scotland, in language still more unseemly than Knox's.



18. Edward VI., by Holbein, in the Royal Gallery, Windsor.
John Knox was one of Edward's Chaplains-in-Ordinary.

exceeded he not sixteen years of age. What gravity above age, what wisdom passing all expectation of man, and what dexterity in answering in all things proponed, were in that excellent Prince, the Ambassadors of all countries—yea, some that were mortal enemies to him and to his Realm, among whom the Queen Dowager of Scotland was not the least—could and did testify! The said Queen Dowager, returning from France through England [in October 1551], communed with him at length, and gave record when she came to this Realm: ‘That she found more wisdom and solid judgment in young King Edward, than she would have looked for in any three Princes that were then in Europe.’ His liberality towards the godly and learned that were in other realms persecuted, was such as German, French, Italian, Scots, Spaniard, Polonians (*Polish*), Grecian, and Hebrew born, can yet give sufficient document; for how honourably were Martin Bucer, Peter Martyr, Joannes Alasco, and many others, upon his public stipends entertained, their patents (*writings*) can witness, and they themselves during their lives would never have denied.

After the death of this most virtuous Prince, of whom the godless people of England, for the most part, was not worthy, Satan intended nothing less than the light of Jesus Christ utterly to have been extinguished within the whole Isle of Britanny. After him was raised up, in God’s hot displeasure, that idolatrous Jezebel, mischievous Marie, of the Spaniard’s blood:¹ a cruel persecutrix of God’s people, as the acts of her unhappy reign can sufficiently witness.

Queen Mary
Tudor of
England, and
Queen Mary,
Regent of
Scotland.

¹ In his *Admonition to the Professors of the Truth in England*, Knox says of Mary, ‘Under an English name, she beareth a Spaniard’s heart!’ We now know that she was only partly responsible for the savage persecution which has branded her for all time with the dreadful name of ‘Bloody Mary.’ All that Knox knew was that more than three hundred of the best of her subjects were burnt at the stake in her name for their religious opinions. Many of these, like Archbishop Cranmer, and Bishops Hooper, Latimer, and Ridley, had been Knox’s personal friends.

In Scotland, that same time, reigned that crafty practiser, Marie of Lorraine, then named Regent of Scotland. Bound to the devotion of her two brethren, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, she did only abide the opportunity to cut the throats of all those in whom she suspected any knowledge of God, within the Realm of Scotland. So Satan thought that his kingdom of darkness was in quietness and rest, as well in the one realm as in the other. But that provident eye of The Eternal, our God, who continually watcheth for the preservation of His Church, did so dispoise all things, that Satan, shortly after, found himself far disappointed. For in that cruel persecution, used by that monster, Marie of England, were godly men dispersed into divers nations, of whom it pleased the goodness of our God to send some unto us in Scotland, for our comfort and instruction.

First came a simple man, WILLIAM HARLAW, whose erudition, although it excel not, yet for his zeal, and diligent plainness in doctrine, is he to this day worthy of praise, and remains a fruitful member within the Church of Scotland [as minister of the parish of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh]. After him came that notable man, JOHN WILLOCK,¹ as one that had some commission to

Arrival of
Harlaw and
Willock.

¹ Willock was originally a Franciscan friar, then Chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk (father to Lady Jane Grey), then a physician at Embden in Friesland. Dr. M'Crie calls Willock 'the chief coadjutor of Knox.' In Bullinger's dedication in Latin of his 'Fifth Decade' to the Marquis of Dorset, he mentions Willock: 'Your piety needs none of my teaching, seeing that it is surrounded with most learned and godly men on all sides, of whom Master Robert Skinner and Master John Willock, very excellent men, are none of the least.' Willock became Superintendent of the West. He enjoyed the unique distinction of being at the same time a beneficed clergyman of the Episcopal Church of England, and a minister of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. During his residence in England the Duke of Suffolk presented Willock to the living of Loughborough, in Leicestershire, which he retained all through his ministry in Scotland. Some time before his death he returned to Loughborough and died there in 1585, thirteen years after Knox's death. Like Knox, he married an Englishwoman.

the Queen Regent from the Duchess of Embden. But his principal purpose was to essay what God would work by him in his native country. These two did sometimes, in several companies, assemble the Brethren, who by their exhortations began greatly to be encouraged, and did show that they had an earnest thirst of godliness.

Last came JOHN KNOX to Scotland, in the end of the harvest, in the year of God 1555; who first being lodged in Edinburgh in the house of that notable man of God, James Syme, began to exhort secretly in that same house.

Arrival of
Knox from
Geneva in
September
1555.

To him repaired John Erskine, the Laird of Dun, David Forrest [General of the Mint], and certain personages of the town, amongst whom was Elizabeth Adamson, then spouse to James Barroun [Dean of Guild], burgess of Edinburgh, who, by reason that she had a troubled conscience, delighted much in the company of the said John Knox, because he, accord-

Elizabeth
Adamson's
notable Con-
fession.

ing to the grace given unto him, opened more fully the fountain of God's mercies than did the common sort of teachers that she had heard before; for she had heard none except Friars. She did with such greediness drink thereof, that at her death she did express the fruit of her hearing, to the great comfort of all those that repaired to her. She suffered most grievous torment in her body, yet out of her mouth was heard nothing but praising of God, except that sometimes she would lament the troubles of those that were troubled by her. Being sometimes demanded by her sisters, what she thought of that pain which she then suffered in body, in respect of that wherewith sometimes she was troubled in spirit, she answered: 'A thousand years of this torment, and ten times more joined unto it, is not to be compared to the quarter of an hour that I suffered in my spirit. I thank my God, through Jesus Christ, that hath delivered me from that most fearful pain; and welcome be this, even so

long as it pleaseth His Godly Majesty to exercise me therewith.'

A little before her departure, she desired her sisters, and some others that were beside her, to sing a Psalm, and amongst others, she appointed the Hundred and Third Psalm, beginning 'My soul, praise thou the Lord always.' This ended, she said: 'At the teaching of this Psalm, began my troubled soul first effectually to taste of the mercy of my God, which now to me is more sweet and precious, than if all the kingdoms of the earth were given to me to possess a thousand years.' The Priests urged her with their ceremonies and superstitions; to whom she answered: 'Depart from me, ye Sergeants of Satan! I have refused, and in your own presence do refuse, all your abominations. That which ye call your Sacrament and Christ's Body, as ye have deceived us to believe in times past, is nothing but an idol, and hath nothing to do with the right Institution of Jesus Christ. Therefore, in God's name, I command you not to trouble me.' They departed, alleging, 'That she raved, and wist not what she said.' Short thereafter she slept in the Lord Jesus, to no small comfort of those that saw her blessed departing. This we could not omit of this worthy woman, who gave so notable a confession, before the great light of God's Word did universally shine through this realm.

Perceiving divers who had a zeal to godliness make small scruple to go to the Mass, or to communicate with the abused Sacraments in the Papistical manner, John Knox, at his first coming, began, as well in privy conference as in doctrine, to show the impiety of the Mass, and how dangerous a thing it was to communicate in any sort with idolatry. Wherewith the consciences of some being affrayed, the matter began to be agitate from man to man, and John Knox was called to supper by John Erskine, the Laird of Dun, where were convened Master Robert Lockhart, John Willock, and WILLIAM MAITLAND OF LETHINGTON, younger, a man of good learning

Protestants
attending
Mass. Dispute
with Maitland
of Lethington.

and of sharp wit and reasoning.¹ The question was proponed, and it was answered by the said John, 'That nowise it was lawful to a Christian to present himself to that idol.' Nothing was omitted that might make for the temporiser, especially



19. William Maitland of Lethington, Secretary of State to Mary, Queen of Scots, and Knox's ablest antagonist. From a picture in the collection of the Earl of Lauderdale at Thirlestane Castle. (See page 112.)

one thing wherein they thought their great defence stood, to wit, 'That Paul, at the commandment of James, and of the Elders of Jerusalem, passed to the Temple and feigned

¹ This is Knox's first mention of Queen Mary's Chief Secretary, the statesman whose portrait was thus drawn on 7th December 1561 by Randolph for Cecil—'Lethington hath a crafty head and a fell tongue!' To which character-sketch may be added from a later letter Randolph's remark, 'He is more given to policy than to Master Knox's preachings!' Knox and Maitland, unquestionably the two ablest men in Scotland of their time, were born within a mile of each other, the one in 1505 in or near Haddington, the other about 1528 at Lethington, now called Lennox Love. 'There were not above three or four men of distinctly original force in the whole island from John O'Groats to Land's End at this period. In England they had Cecil; in Scotland, John Knox and William Maitland. . . . Mary, during these years,

himself to pay his vow with others.' This, and other things, were so fully answered, that William Maitland concluded, saying: 'I see perfectly that our shifts will serve nothing before God, seeing that they stand us in so small stead before men.'

The answer of John Knox to the fact (*action*) of Paul, and to the commandment of James, was: 'Paul's fact has nothing to do with your going to Mass. To pay vows is sometimes God's commandment, and is never idolatry: but your Mass, from the original, is odious idolatry. Therefore the facts are most unlike. Secondly, I greatly doubt whether either James' commandment or Paul's obedience proceeded from the Holy Ghost. God plainly declareth "That evil shall not be done that good may come of it." Evil it was for Paul to confirm those obstinate Jews in their superstition by his example; worse it was to him to expose himself, and the doctrine which before he had taught, to slander and mockage. Therefore, the fact of Paul, and the sequel that followed, appear rather to fight against them that would go to the Mass, than to give them any assurance to follow Paul's example, unless they would that the like trouble should instantly apprehend them that apprehended him, for obeying worldly-wise counsel.' After these and like reasonings, the Mass began to be abhorred of such as before used it for the fashion, and for the avoiding of slander, as they termed it.

John Knox, at the request of the Laird of Dun, followed him to his Place of Dun, in Forfarshire, where he remained a month, and daily exercised in doctrine, whereunto resorted the principal men of that country. After his return, his residence was most at Calder House, near Mid-Calder, where repaired unto him the Lord Erskine that now is, the Earl of

Knox in
Forfarshire,
West Lothian,
and Edin-
burgh, 1555.

was the central figure; but the real struggle lay between Knox and Lethington. . . . Queen Elizabeth called Maitland the flower of the wits of Scotland.'—*Maitland of Lethington and the Scotland of Mary Stuart*, by Sir JOHN SKELTON. De Foix, the ambassador of Catharine de' Medici, described Lethington to De Silva as 'a sort of Scottish Cecil.'

Argyle, then Lord of Lorne, and LORD JAMES STEWART, then Prior of St. Andrews, and now Earl of Moray,¹ where they heard and so approved his doctrine, that they wished it to



20. Earl of Moray, Queen Mary's half-brother, and Knox's most powerful supporter. From the picture at Holyrood.

have been public. That same winter [1555] he taught commonly in Edinburgh.

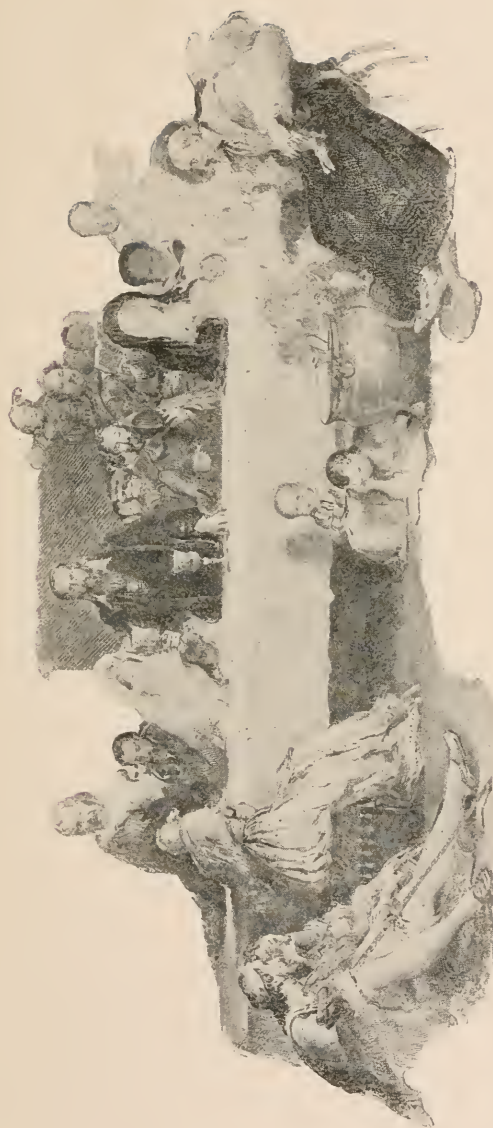
After Yule, by the conduct of the Laird of Bar, and

¹ Here Knox first mentions his great associate, best known under his later title of The Regent Moray. In view of the biographies of Queen Mary, Patrick Hamilton, George Wishart, Knox, Cardinal Beaton, the Earl of Bothwell, Maitland of Lethington, George Buchanan, Sir David Lyndsay, and Kirkcaldy of Grange, it is curious that Moray's career, so full of dramatic incident, and so beset by perplexing, but most interesting, questions, should not yet have been made the subject of a monograph, friendly, hostile, or neutral. Even his enemies admitted his intellectual ability, his culture, his statesman-like moderation and breadth of view, his stainless moral character, his physical courage, and his sincere interest in religion. The Queen Regent and her brothers attributed the success of the Protestant cause in Scotland to Moray more than to any other person :—

Robert Campbell of Kinyeancleuch, John Knox came to Kyle, and taught in Bar, in the House of Carnell, in Kinyeancleuch, in the town of Ayr, and in the Houses of Ochiltree and Gadgirth, and in some of them ministered the Lord's Table. Before Pasch, the Earl of Glencairn sent for him to his Place of Finlayston; where, after doctrine, he likewise ministered the Lord's Table, whereof, besides himself [Glencairn], were partakers his Lady, two of his sons, and certain of his friends. Knox returned to Calder, where divers from Edinburgh, and from the country about, convened, as well for the doctrine as for the right use of the Lord's Table, which before they had never practised. Thence he departed the second time to the Laird of Dun; and teaching them in greater liberty, the Gentlemen required that he should minister likewise unto them the Table of the Lord Jesus, whereof were partakers the most part of the Gentlemen of the Mearns; who, God be praised, to this day constantly do remain in the same doctrine which then they professed, to wit, that they refused all society with idolatry, and bound themselves to the uttermost of their powers, to maintain the true preaching of the Evangel of Jesus Christ, as God should offer unto them preachers and opportunity.¹

'The Queen Regent marvelled of the stiffness of the Lords of the Congregation, but in special of my Lord James, who never did take rest to work in her contrary, though others took some repose'—(*John Wood to Thomas Randolph*, 30th November 1559). Moray was assassinated in Linlithgow on 23rd January 1570. The body was borne from Holyrood to St. Giles Church, where Knox preached from the words, 'Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord.' 'He moved three thousand persons to shed tears for the loss of such a good and godly governor'—(*CALDERWOOD*, ii. p. 525). Knox was asked to write the Regent's biography. 'Lawrence Humphrey, Doctor of Divinity of England [Dean of Winchester], desired Master Knox to put in memory the death and life of the Regent lately and shamefully murdered'—(*BANNATYNE'S Memorials*). The people called Moray 'the Good Regent.' At the time referred to in the text—1555—he was only twenty-four years of age. He was made Prior of St. Andrews in his fifth year, and at a later date Prior of Macon, in France.

¹ 'This seems to have been the first of those religious bonds or covenants by which the confederation of the Protestants in Scotland was so frequently ratified.'—*Dr. M'CRIE'S Life of John Knox*.



21. Knox dispensing the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at Calder House. From the unfinished picture by Sir David Wilkie, R.A., in the Scottish National Gallery. (See page 116.)

The bruit hereof sparsed (*spread abroad*)—for the Friars from all quarters flocked to the Bishops—John Knox was summoned to compear in the Kirk of the Black Friars in Edinburgh, the 15th day of May. But that diet held not; whether the Bishops perceived informality in their proceedings, or if they feared danger to ensue upon their extremity, it is unknown to us. The Saturday before the day appointed, they cassed (*annulled*) their own summons; and the said John, the same day of the summons, taught in Edinburgh in a greater audience than ever before he had done in that town. The place was the Bishop of Dunkeld's great lodging, where he continued in doctrine ten days, both before and after noon. The Earl of Glencairn allured the Earl Marischall, who heard an exhortation; but it was in the night. They were so well content with it, that they both willed the said John to write the Queen Regent somewhat that might move her to hear the Word of God. He wrote that which was imprinted, and is called 'The Letter to the Queen Dowager';¹ which was delivered into her own hands by the said Alexander, Earl of Glencairn. Which letter, when she had read, within a day or two she delivered to that proud Prelate, James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow [nephew of Cardinal Beaton], and said in mockage, 'Please you, my Lord, to read a pasquil (*lampoon*)!' As concerning the threatenings pronounced against her own person, and the most principal of her friends, let their very flatterers see what hath failed of all that John Knox hath written. Therefore it were expedient that her daughter, now mischievously reigning, should look to that which hath passed before, lest, in following the counsels of the wicked, she end more miserably than her crafty mother did.²

¹ See *John Knox's Works*, edited by David Laing, LL.D., vol. iv. p. 69.

² This was written in 1566. In February of the following year, Lord Darnley, the Queen's husband, was murdered, at the age of twenty; in May of the same year, the Queen, aged twenty-four, married Lord Bothwell, one of the ringleaders in the murder, and created him Duke of Orkney; in

While John Knox was thus occupied in Scotland, letters came to him from the English Kirk that was assembled in Geneva, which was separated from that superstitious and contentious company that were at Frankfort, commanding him in God's name, as their chosen Pastor, to repair unto them,

Knox called
from Scotland
to Geneva in
1556.

for their comfort. Upon which the said John took his leave from us, and, almost in every congregation where he had preached, exhorted us to Prayer, to reading the Scriptures, and mutual conference, unto such time as God should give us greater liberty. He sent before him to Dieppe his mother-in-law, Elizabeth Bowes, and his wife, Marjorie Bowes, with no small dolour to their hearts and unto many of us. He himself remained

Mrs. Marjorie
Bowes or
Knox.

behind in Scotland, and passed to the old Earl of Argyle, who then was in Castle Campbell, where he taught certain days. The Laird of Glenurquhare (*Glenorchy*), who yet liveth, being one of his auditors, willed the said Earl of Argyle to retain him still. But he, purposed upon his journey, would not at that time stay for no request, adding: 'If God so blessed these small beginnings, that they continued in godliness, whensoever they pleased to command him they should find him obedient.' But he said that once he must needs visit that little flock which the wickedness of men had compelled him to leave.

In the month of July he passed to France, and so to Geneva. Immediately after, the Bishops summoned him, and for non-compearance, burnt him in effigy at the Cross of Edinburgh, in the year of God 1556;¹ from which unjust sentence the said John made his 'Appellation against the

June of the same year, she was a prisoner in Lochleven Castle, and in July, she abdicated the throne of Scotland.

¹ 'Knox bared his breast to the battle; had to row in French galleys; wander forlorn in exile, in clouds and storms; was censured, shot at through his windows; had a right sore fighting life. If this world were his place of recompense, he had made but a bad venture of it!'—THOMAS CARLYLE in *Heroes and Hero-Worship*.

Sentence of the Bishops,' and caused to print the same and directed it to the Nobility and Commons of Scotland.¹

In the winter that the said John abode in Scotland appeared a comet, the course whereof was from the South and South-west, to the North and North-east. It was seen in the months of November, December, and January, and was called 'The fiery besom.'² Soon after, died Christian, King of Denmark.

Portents in the sky in 1555-56.
War with England.

Also war rose betwixt Scotland and England; for the Commissioners of both realms, who almost the space of six months entreated upon the Conditions of Peace, and were upon a near point of conclusion, were disappointed. The Quèen Regent, with her Council of the French Faction, decreeted war at Newbattle, without giving any advertisement to the Scotch Commissioners. Such is the fidelity of Princes, guided by Priests, whensoever they seek their own affections to be served!

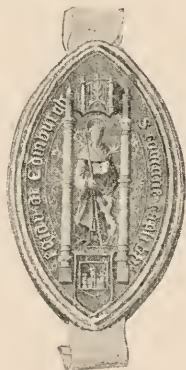
In the end of that next harvest was seen upon the Borders of England and Scotland a strange fire, which descended from heaven, and burnt divers corns in both realms, but most in England. There was presented to the Queen Regent, by Robert Ormiston, a calf having two heads, whereat she scripp'd (*mocked*), and said, 'It was but a common thing.' The war began in the end of harvest, and conclusion was taken that Wark Castle in Northumberland should be besieged. Monsieur D'Oysel, then Lieutenant for France, gave charge that the cannons should be transported over the Water of Tweed, which was done with expedition, for the Frenchmen in such facts are expert. But the Nobility of Scotland, nothing content of such proceedings, after consultation among themselves, passed to the palyeon (*pavilion*) of Monsieur D'Oysel, and in his own face declared, 'That in no wise would they invade England.' Therefore, they commanded the ordnance to be retired; and that it was without farther delay.

¹ See *Works* (vol. iv. p. 461).

² 'Comets importing change of times and States,'—SHAKESPEARE in the first part of *Henry VI.*

This put an affray in Monsieur D'Oysel his breath¹ and kindled such a fire in the Queen Regent's stomach, as was not well slockened till her breath failed. Progress of the Reformation. And thus was that enterprise frustrate. But yet war continued, during which the Evangel of Jesus Christ began wondrously to flourish. In Edinburgh began publicly to exhort, William Harlaw ; and John Douglas, who had been chaplain with the Earl of Argyle, preached in Leith, and sometimes exhorted in Edinburgh. Paul Methven began publicly to preach in Dundee ; and so did divers others in Angus and the Mearns.

And last, at God's good pleasure, arrived JOHN WILLOCK the second time from Embden ; whose return was so joyful to the brethren, that their zeal and godly courage daily increased. Albeit he contracted a dangerous sickness, yet he ceased not from labours, but taught and exhorted from his bed. Some of the Nobility—of whom some are fallen back, among whom the Lord Seton is chief—with many Barons and Gentlemen, were his auditors, and by him were godly instructed, and wondrously comforted. They kept their conventions, and held counsel with such gravity and closeness, that the enemies trembled. The images were stolen away in all parts of the country ; and in Edinburgh was that great idol called St. Giles first drowned in the North Loch,² and after burned, which raised no small trouble in the town. For the Friars, rowping (*crying hoarsely*) like ravens upon the Bishops, the Bishops



22. Seal of the Church of St. Giles.

¹ This sentence, as printed by Dr. Laing, is not very intelligible ; but David Buchanan, in his edition of 1644, does not make the happiest conjecture when he prints, 'This put an affray in Monsieur Dosall's *brecches*' !

² The marshy lake which formerly existed in the hollow between Princes Street and the Old Town. It extended from St. Cuthbert's Church on the west to the Old Trinity College Church on the east.

ran upon the Queen, who to them was favourable enough, but she thought it could not stand with her advantage to offend such a multitude as then took upon them the defence of the Evangel, and the name of Protestants. Yet she consented to summon the Preachers; whereat the Protestants, neither offended, neither affrayed, determined to keep the day of summons, as that they did. Which perceived by the Prelates and Priests, they procured a Proclamation to be publicly made, ‘All men that are come to the town without commandment of the Authority, shall with all diligence repair to the Borders, and there remain fifteen days’: for Andrew Durie, the Bishop of Galloway, in this manner of rhyme, said to the Queen: ‘Madam,

‘Because they are come without order,
I rede (*advise*) ye, send them to the Border.’

Now God had so provided, that the Quarter of the Westland, in which were many faithful men, was that same day returned from the Borders. They, understanding the proclamation to proceed from the malice of the Priests, assembled together, and made passage to themselves, till they came to the very Privy Chamber, where the Queen Regent and the Bishops were. The Gentlemen began to complain upon their strange entertainment, considering that Her Grace had found in them so faithful obedience in all things lawful. When the Queen began to craft, a zealous and bold man, James Chalmers of Gadgirth, said: ‘Madam, we know that this is the malice and device of these Jefwellis (*knaves*), and of that bastard’—meaning the Archbishop of St. Andrews—‘that stands by you. We avow to God we shall make a day of it. The Bishops oppress us and our tenants for feeding of their idle bellies. They trouble our Preachers, and would murder them and us. Shall we suffer this any longer? No, Madam, it shall not be.’ THEREWITH EVERY MAN PUT ON HIS STEEL BONNET. There was heard nothing on the Queen’s part but ‘My Joys, my Hearts, what ails you?’

Me¹ means no evil to you nor to your preachers. The Bishops shall do you no wrong. Ye are all my loving subjects. Me knows nothing of this Proclamation. The day of your preachers shall be discharged, and me will hear the controversy that is betwixt the Bishops and you. 'They shall do you no wrong.' 'My Lords,' said she to the Bishops, 'I forbid you either to trouble them or their preachers.' And unto the Gentlemen, who were wondrously commoved, she turned again and said: 'O My Hearts, should ye not



23. Royal Arms of Scotland, and the Arms of Mary of Guise. From the pre-Reformation stained-glass shields of arms in the Magdalene Chapel, Edinburgh.

love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your mind? And should ye not love your neighbours as yourselves?' With these and the like fair words, she kept the Bishops from buffets at that time.

The Day of Summons being discharged, began the Brethren universally to be further encouraged. Yet could the Bishops in no sort be quiet; for St. Giles' Day ap-
The Tragedy
of St. Giles.
 proaching, they gave charge to the Provost, Bailies, and Council of Edinburgh either to get again the old St. Giles, or else upon their expenses to make a new image. The Council answered: 'That to them the charge appeared very unjust. They understood that God in some places had commanded idols and images to be destroyed; but where He had commanded images to be set up, they had not read'; and they desired the Archbishop of St. Andrews

¹ All the manuscripts make the French Queen Regent speak broken English.

to find a warrant for his commandment.' Whereat the Archbishop offended, admonished under pain of cursing; which they prevented by a formal Appellation, appealing from him, as from a partial and corrupt judge, unto the Pope's Holiness; and so, greater things shortly following, that passed into oblivion.

Yet would not the Priests and Friars cease to have that great solemnity and manifest abomination which they accustomedly had upon St. Giles Day, to wit, they would have that idol borne, and thereafter was all preparation necessary duly made. A marmoset (*monkey*) idol was borrowed from the Grey Friars, for which a silver piece of James Carmichael [the Dean of Guild] was laid in pledge. It was fast fixed with iron nails upon a barrow, called their fertour¹ (*chest*). There assembled Priests, Friars, Canons, and rotten Papists, with tabours (*small drums*) and trumpets, banners and bagpipes. And who was there to lead the ring but the Queen Regent herself, with all her shavelings, for honour of that feast? West about goeth it, and cometh down the High Street, and down to the Canno Cross [at the foot of the Canongate]. The Queen Regent dined that day in Sandie Carpetyne's house, betwixt the Bows [the West Bow and the Nether Bow]; and so, when the idol returned back again, she left it and passed in to her dinner.

Immediately after the Queen was entered into the lodging, some that were of the enterprise drew nigh to the idol, as willing to help to bear him, and getting the fertour upon their shoulders, began to shudder, thinking that thereby the idol should have fallen. But that was prevented by the iron nails. So began one to cry, 'Down with the idol! Down with it!' and without delay it was pulled down. Some brag made the Priests' patrons at the first; but they soon saw the feebleness of their god, for one took him by the heels, and dadding his head to the causeway, left Dagon without head

¹ Compare *fiertre*, old French for a chest in which relics of saints were kept.

or hands, and said: 'Fie upon thee, thou young St. Giles, thy father would have tarried for such!' This considered, the Priests and Friars fled faster than they did at Pinkie Cleuch! Down go the Crosses, off go the surplices and the round caps corner with the crowns.¹ The Grey Friars gaped, the Black Friars blew, the Priests panted and fled, and happy was he that first got into the house; for such a sudden fray came never among the generation of Antichrist within this realm before! By chance there lay upon a stair a merry Englishman, who, seeing the discomfiture to be without blood, thought he would add some merriness to the matter, and so cried he over the stair: 'Fie upon you, why have ye broken order? Down the street ye passed in great array and with great mirth. Why fly ye, villains, now, without order? Turn and strike every man a stroke for the honour of his god! Fie, cowards, fie, ye shall never be judged worthy of your wages again!' But exhortations were then unprofitable; for after Baal had broken his neck, there was no comfort to his confused army!²

This Tragedy of St. Giles was terrible to some Papists. The Queen Regent laid it up among her other mementoes, till she might have the time proper to revenge it. Search was made for the doers, but none could be apprehended; for the Brethren assembled themselves in such sort, in companies, singing Psalms and praising God, that the proudest of the enemies were astonished.

¹ Probably this means 'the priests with their round caps jostle with the friars with their shaven crowns.'

² 'What distinguishes Knox from men like Calvin or Savonarola is precisely that sense of a humorous side of things which made him at once a great writer and a great leader of men. Of the value of this quality in the conduct of human affairs he was himself perfectly conscious, and deliberately employed it both in his writings and in his dealings with his fellows. "Melancholious reasons," he said in one of his debates with Lethington, "would have some mirth intermixed."—Dr. HUME BROWN in *Life of John Knox*, vol. ii. p. 224.

CHAPTER VI

FROM THE POISONING OF THE BISHOP OF ORKNEY AT
DIEPPE EARLY IN 1558, TO THE SCOTS PARLIAMENT
HELD IN OCTOBER 1558.

THE most part of the Lords that were in France at the Queen's marriage with the Dauphin of France, in 1558, although they got their congé from the French Court, yet they forgot to return to Scotland ! Whether it was by an Italian posset, or by French figs, or by the potage of their potinger (*apothecary*),—
The poisoning of the Bishop of Orkney, in 1558. he was a French man—there departed from this life the Earl of Cassillis and the Earl of Rothes at Dieppe, Lord Fleming in Paris, and the Bishop of Orkney at Dieppe, whose end was even according to his life.

The Lord James, then Prior of St. Andrews, had by all appearance licked of the same browst (*brewing*) that despatched the rest, for thereof to this day his stomach doth testify ; but God preserved him for a better purpose. This same Lord James, now Earl of Moray, and the said Bishop of Orkney, were commonly at debate in matters of religion. The Lord James, hearing of the Bishop's disease, came to visit him. 'My Lord,' said the Bishop, 'long have you and I been in pley (*dispute*) for Purgatory. I think I shall know ere it be long whether there be such a place or not !' The Lord James did exhort the Bishop to call to mind the Promises of God, and the Virtue of Christ's Death. The Bishop answered : 'Nay, my Lord, let me alone. You and I never agreed in our life, and I think we shall not agree now at my death. I pray you, let me alone.' The Lord James

departed to his lodging, and the other shortly after departed this life; whither, the Great Day of the Lord will declare!

When the word of the departing of so many patrons of Papistry, and of the manner of their departing, came unto the Queen Regent, after astonishment and musing, she said: 'What shall I say of such men? They lived as beasts, and



24. Francis II. of France, Queen Mary's first husband. In the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. (See pages 126, 239.)

as beasts they die! God is not with them, neither with that which they enterprise.'

While these things were in doing in Scotland and France, that perfect hypocrite, Master John Sinclair, then Dean of Restalrig, and now Lord President of the Court of Session and Bishop of Brechin, began to preach in his Kirk of Restalrig; and at the beginning held himself so indifferent (*impartial*), that many had opinion of him, that he was not far from the Kingdom of God. But his hypocrisy could not long be cloaked. When he understood that such as feared God began to have a good opinion of him, and that the Friars

The Dean of
Restalrig
shows the
cloven hoof.

and others of that sect began to whisper, 'If he takes not heed in time to himself, and unto his doctrine, he will be the destruction of the whole Estate of the Kirk,' he appointed a sermon, in which he promised to give his judgment upon all such heads as then were in controversy in the matter of religion. The bruit hereof made his audience great at the first; but that day he so handled himself, that after that, no godly man did credit him. Not only gainsaid he the doctrines of Justification and of Prayer which before he had taught, but also he set up and maintained the Papistry to the uttermost prick; yea, Holy Water, Pilgrimage, Purgatory, and Pardons were of such virtue in his conceit, that without them he looked not to be saved!

In the meantime the Clergy made a brag that they would dispute. But Master David Panter,¹ who then lived at Restalrig, dissuaded them therefrom, affirming: 'If ever ye dispute but where yourselves are both judge and party, and where fire and sword shall obey your decree, then your cause is wrecked for ever. Your victory stands neither in God, nor in His Word, but in your own wills, and in the things concluded by your own Councils, together with fire and sword, whereto these new start-up fellows will give no place. They will call you to your account-book—that is to the Bible—and by it ye will no more be found the men that ye are called, than the Devil will be proven to be God! Therefore, if ye love yourselves, enter never into disputation; but defend your possession, or else all is lost.' Caiaphas could not have given better counsel to his companions! Yet God disappointed both them and him, as after we shall hear.

At this same time some of the Nobility directed letters to call John Knox from Geneva, for their comfort, and for the comfort of the Preachers, and others that then courageously fought against the enemies of God's truth. The tenor of their letter is this:—

Knox's call to
Scotland from
Geneva in 1557.

¹ Bishop of Ross, previously Secretary of State to James v.

‘GRACE, MERCY, AND PEACE, FOR SALUTATION,

‘DEARLY BELOVED IN THE LORD,—The Faithful that are of your acquaintance in these parts—thanks be unto God—are steadfast in the belief wherein ye left them, and have a godly thirst day by day of your presence; which, if the Spirit of God will so permit, we heartily desire you, in the name of the Lord, that ye return again to these parts, where ye shall find all the Faithful that ye left behind you, not only glad to hear your doctrine, but ready to jeopard lives and goods in the forward setting of the glory of God, as He will permit. And albeit the Magistrates in this country be as yet but in the state ye left them, yet we have no experience of any more cruelty than was before. Rather we believe that God will augment His flock, because we see daily the Friars, enemies to Christ’s Evangel, in less estimation, both with the Queen’s Grace, and the rest of the Nobility. This, in few words, is the mind of the Faithful, being present, and others absent. The rest of our minds the faithful bearer will show you at length. Fare ye well in the Lord.

‘Off Stirling, the tenth of March, Anno 1556.¹

‘GLENCARNE (*Earl of*).

‘LORNE (*Lord of*).

‘ERSKYN (*of Dun*).

‘JAMES STEWART (*Lord*).’

These letters delivered to John Knox in Geneva, by the hands of James Syme, who now resteth with Christ, and of James Barroun, that yet liveth, he took consultation, as well with his own church as with that notable servant of God, John Calvin, and with other godly ministers, who all with one consent said, ‘That he could not refuse that vocation, unless he would declare himself rebellious unto his God,

¹ Or 1557, according to modern reckoning. In Knox’s time the year began on 25th March.

and unmerciful to his country.' So he returned answer, with promises to visit them with reasonable expedition, and so soon as he might put order to that dear flock that was committed to his charge. In the end of September [1557], he departed from Geneva, and came to Dieppe,¹ where there met him contrary letters, as by this, his answer thereto, we may understand:—

‘The Spirit of Wisdom, Constancy, and Strength be multiplied with you, by the favour of God Our Father, and by the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

‘According to my promise, Right Honourable, I came to Dieppe, the 24th of October, of full mind, by the good will of God, with the first ship to have visited you. But because two letters, not very pleasing to the flesh, were there presented to me, I was compelled to stay for a time. The one was directed to myself from a faithful brother, which made mention, that new consultation was appointed for final conclusion of the matter before purposed, and willed me therefore to abide in these parts, till the determination of the same. The other letter was directed from a gentleman to

¹ Knox spent not less than a year altogether in Dieppe during his two visits in 1557 and 1559. Judging from the following contemporary testimony, his eloquence in the church of La Madeleine seems to have been as persuasive in French as his preaching in English had proved in Scotland, England, and Switzerland:—‘On February 19th, 1559, arrived at Dieppe the Seigneur Jean Knox, Scotsman, a very learned man, who had been received as a pastor in England in the time of King Edward vi., and was afterwards minister of the English and Scottish Church received at Geneva, and preached at Dieppe for the space of six or seven weeks. He achieved a great result, and the number of the faithful in Dieppe grew in such degree that they dared to preach in full day; whereas, till this time, they had only dared to go to sermon during the night. On the first day of March 1559 there made abjuration of the errors of the Roman Church and profession of the truth of the Gospel by the hands of the Seigneur Jean Knox, M. de Senerpont, King’s lieutenant in the government of Picardy, a son-in-law of the same, and one of his daughters, named Madame de Monterautil, M. de Bacqueville, and two of his sons, with several other ladies and gentlemen.’—*Histoire de la Réformation à Dieppe*, by DAVAL. Similar testimony from the Roman Catholic side is quoted by Dr. Hume Brown in his *Life of John Knox*, vol. i. p. 218.

a friend, with charge to advertise me, that he had communed with all these that seemed most frack (*eager*) and fervent in the matter, and that in none did he find such boldness and constancy as was requisite for such an enterprise. Some, as he writeth, did repent that ever any such thing was moved. Some were partly ashamed; and others were able to deny, that ever they did consent to any such purpose, if any trial or question should be taken thereof.

‘Which letters, when I had considered, I partly was confounded, and partly was pierced with anguish and sorrow. Confounded I was, that I had so far travailled in the matter, moving the same to the most godly and the most learned that this day we know to live in Europe, to the effect that I might have their judgments and grave counsels, for assurance as well of your consciences as of mine, in all enterprises. That nothing should succeed so long consultation, cannot but redound either to your shame or mine. Either it shall appear that I was marvellously vain, being so solicitous where no necessity required, or else, that such as were my movers thereto lacked ripeness of judgment in their first vocation. To some it may appear a small and light matter, that I have cast off, and as it were abandoned, as well my particular care as my public office and charge [at Geneva], leaving my house and poor family destitute of all head, save God only, and committing that small, but to Christ dearly beloved, flock, over which I was appointed one of the ministers, to the charge of another. This to worldly men may appear a small matter, but to me it is such, that more worldly substance than I will express, could not have caused me willingly to behold the eyes of so many grave men weep at once for my cause, as I did in taking of my last good-night from them. To whom, if it please God that I return, and question be demanded, What was the impediment of my purposed journey? judge you what I shall answer. The cause of my dolour and sorrow—God is witness—is for nothing pertaining either to my corporal contentment or

worldly displeasure ; but it is for the grievous plagues and punishments of God, which assuredly shall apprehend not only you, but every inhabitant of that miserable Realm and Isle, except the power of God, by the liberty of His Evangel, deliver you from bondage.

‘My words shall appear to some sharp and indiscreetly spoken ; but as charity ought to interpret all things to the best, so ought wise men to understand, that a true friend cannot be a flatterer, especially when the questions of salvation, both of body and soul, are moved ; and that not of one nor of two, but as it were of a whole realm and nation. What are the sobs, and what is the affliction of my troubled heart, God shall one day declare. But this will I add to my former rigour and severity, to wit, if any persuade you, for fear of dangers that may follow, to faint in your former purpose, be he never esteemed so wise and friendly, let him be judged of you both foolish and your mortal enemy. Foolish, because he understandeth nothing of God’s approved wisdom. Enemy unto you, because he laboureth to separate you from God’s favour ; provoking His vengeance and grievous plagues against you, because he would that ye should prefer your worldly rest to God’s praise and glory, and the friendship of the wicked to the salvation of your brethren.

‘Your subjects, yea, your brethren are oppressed, their bodies and souls holden in bondage. God speaketh to your consciences that ye ought to hazard your own lives, be it against Kings or Emperors, for their deliverance. Only for that cause are ye called princes of the people, and ye receive of your brethren honour, tribute, and homage at God’s commandment ; not by reason of your birth and progeny, as the most part of men falsely do suppose, but by reason of your office and duty, which is to vindicate and deliver your subjects and brethren from all violence and oppression, to the uttermost of your power. Advise diligently, I beseech you, with the points of that Letter which

I directed to the whole Nobility, and let every man apply the matter and case to himself. Your consciences shall one day be compelled to acknowledge, that the Reformation of Religion, and of public enormities, doth appertain to more than to the Clergy, or chief rulers called Kings.

‘The Mighty Spirit of the Lord Jesus rule and guide your counsels, to His glory, your eternal comfort, and the consolation of your brethren. Amen.

‘From Dieppe, 27th day of October 1557.’

These letters received and read, together with others directed to the whole Nobility, and some particular Gentlemen, as to the Lairds of Dun and Pittarrow, new consultation was had what was best to be done. In the end it was concluded, that they would follow forward their purpose once intended, and would commit themselves, and whatsoever God had given them, into His hands, rather than suffer idolatry so manifestly to reign, and the subjects of that Realm to be defrauded of the only food of their souls, the true preaching of Christ’s Evangel. And that every one should be the more assured of other, a common Bond was made, and by some subscribed, the tenor whereof followeth :—

John Knox’s
letters and
the Bond
following
thereon.

‘We, perceiving how Satan in his members, the Antichrists of our time, cruelly doth rage, seeking to dounthring the Evangel of Christ and His Congregation, ought, according to our bounden duty, to strive in our Master’s cause, even unto the death, being certain of the victory in Him. The which our duty being well considered, We do promise before the Majesty of God, and His Congregation, that we, by His grace, shall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the Most Blessed Word of God and His Congregation; and shall labour at our possibility to have faithful Ministers purely and truly to minister Christ’s Evangel and Sacraments to His people. We shall maintain them, nourish them, and

defend them, the whole Congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, at our whole powers and wearing of our lives against Satan, and all wicked power that does intend tyranny or trouble against the foresaid Congregation.

‘Unto which Holy Word and Congregation we do join us, and also do forsake and renounce the Congregation of Satan, with all the superstitious abominations and idolatry thereof. Moreover, we declare ourselves manifestly enemies thereto, by this our faithful promise before God, testified to His Congregation, by our subscriptions at these presents.

‘At Edinburgh, the third day of December, the year of God One thousand five hundred fifty-seven years: God called to witness,

‘A. ERLE OF ERGILE.

‘GLENCARNE.

‘MORTON.

‘ARCHIBALD, LORD OF LORNE.

‘JOHNNE ERSKYNE OF DOUN.’

A little before that this Bond was subscribed, by the forewritten and many others, letters were directed again

Knox's third
call to Scot-
land from
Geneva, in 1558.

to John Knox from the said Lords, together with letters to Master Calvin, craving of him, that by his authority he would command the said John once again to visit them.¹ These

letters were delivered by the hands of Master John Gray, in the month of November, the year of God 1558, who at that same time passed to Rome for expedition of the Bowes of Ross (*Papal Bulls for the Bishopric of Ross*) to Master Henry Sinclair.

¹ Knox's residence in Geneva, spent in study (especially of the Scriptures in Hebrew and Greek, for the purposes of the translation known afterwards as the Geneva Bible), in converse with Calvin and other French and Swiss Reformers, and in ministering to the little colony of English refugees—embracing some of England's most eminent scholars and divines—seems to have been the happiest period of his life. Writing to John Wood from Edinburgh on 14th February 1568, he said:—‘God comfort that dispersed little flock, amongst whom I once lived with quietness of conscience and contentment of heart, and amongst whom I would be content to end my days, if so it might stand with God's good pleasure.’

Immediately after, the Lords and Barons professing Christ Jesus convened frequently in council ; in which these heads were concluded :—

‘ First, it is ordained that in all parishes of this Realm the Common Prayers be read weekly on Sunday, and other Festal Days, publicly in the Parish Kirks, with the Lessons of the New and Old Testament, conform to the order of the Book of Common Prayers.¹ If the Curates of the Parishes be qualified, they to read the same ; and if they be not, or if they refuse, the most qualified in the Parish shall read the same.

Order for
public and pri-
vate worship.

‘ Secondly, it is thought necessary that doctrine, preaching and interpretation of the Scriptures be had privily in quiet houses, without great conventions of the people, until afterward God move the Prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers.’

These two Heads concerning the Religion, and some others concerning the Policy, being concluded, the old Earl of Argyle took the maintenance of John Douglas, caused him preach publicly in his house, and reformed many things according to his counsel. The same boldness took divers others, as well within towns as to landward ; which did not a little trouble the Bishops and Queen Regent, as by this letter, committed to Sir David Hamilton [of Preston] from the Bishop of St. Andrews to the said Earl of Argyle, may be clearly understood :—

The Earl of
Argyle's bold-
ness.

‘ MY LORD,—After maist hartlie commendatioun,—this is to advertise your Lordship, we have direct this berar, our Cousing, towart your Lordschipe, in sick besynes and effaris as concernes your Lordschipis honour, proffeitt, and great

¹ That is, the Liturgy of Edward VI., which was soon afterwards replaced by the Geneva Prayer-Book, commonly known as John Knox's Liturgy. The latter book was the production of a committee, of which Knox formed one. The other members of the Committee were all English scholars, clergymen or laymen of the Church of England.

weall; lyk as the said berar will declare your Lordschipe at mare leuth. Praying your Lordschipe effectuously to adverte thairto, and geve attendance to us, your Lordschipsis freindis, that ay hes willed the honour, proffeitt, and uter wealth of your Lordschipsis house, as of our awin; and credite to the berar. And Jesu haif your Lordschipe in everlesting keaping.

‘ Off Edinburgh, the xxv. day of Merche, Anno 1558.

‘ Your Lordschippes att all power,

‘ J. SANCTANDROIS.’¹

Shortly after this, God called to His mercy the said Earl of Argyle from the miseries of this life; whereof the Bishops were glad. They thought that their great enemy was taken out of the way; but God disappointed them. For as the said Earl departed most constant in the true faith of Jesus Christ, with a plain renunciation of all impiety, superstition, and idolatry, so he left it to his son in his testament, ‘ That he should study to set forward the public and true preaching of the Evangel of Jesus Christ, and to suppress all superstition and idolatry, to the uttermost of his power.’ In which point small fault can be found with him to this day. God be merciful to his other offences.² Amen.

[At this point, on the margin of the 1566 ms., is written, apparently in Knox’s hand, and then deleted, ‘ Here take in the Beggars’ Summons, warning the Friars.’ Although Knox seems afterwards to have intended to insert this document in the Second Book, it may be conveniently given here. On 1st January 1559, a copy of this placard was found posted on the gates of all the religious establishments in Scotland] :—

‘ THE BLIND, CROOKED, BEDRELLS (*bedridden*), WIDOWS, ORPHANS, AND ALL OTHER POOR, SO VISITED BY THE HAND OF GOD, AS THEY MAY NOT WORK,

‘ *To the flocks of all Friars within this Realm, we wish Resti-*

¹ This letter is printed in the original spelling.

² Knox seems here to refer to the Earl of Argyle’s continued adherence to Queen Mary at the time the above passage was written.

tution of wrongs past, and Reformation in times coming,—for salutation.

‘Ye yourselves are not ignorant—and though ye would be, it is now, thanks to God, known to the whole world, by His Infallible Word—that the benignity or alms of all Christian people pertain to us allenarly (*only*), which you, being whole of body, stark (*strong*), sturdy, and able to work—what under pretence of poverty, and nevertheless possessing most easily all abundance, what through cloaked and hooded simplicity, though your proudness is known, and what by feigned holiness, which now is declared superstition and idolatry—have these many years, express against God’s Word, and the practice of His holy Apostles, to our great torment, alas ! most falsely stolen from us. And also ye have, by your false doctrine and wresting of God’s Word, learned of your father Satan, induced the whole people, high and low, in [to the] sure hope and belief, that to clothe, feed and nourish you, is the only most acceptable alms allowed before God ; and to give a penny, or a piece of bread once in the week, is enough for us. Even so, ye have persuaded them to build to you great Hospitals, and maintain you therein by their purse, which only pertain now to us by all law, as bigged and doted (*built and endowed*) to the poor, of whose number ye are not, nor can be repute, neither by the law of God, nor yet by no other law proceeding of nature, reason, or civil policy.

‘Wherefore, seeing our number is so great, so indigent, and so heavily oppressed by your false means, that none take care of our misery, and that it is better to provide for these our impotent members, which God has given us, to oppone to you in plain controversy, than to see you hereafter, as ye have done before, steal from us our lodgings, and ourselves, in the meantime, to perish and die for want of the same,—we have thought good, therefore, ere we enter with you in conflict, to warn you, in the name of the great God, by this public writing affixed on your gates where ye now dwell, that ye remove furth of our said Hospitals, betwixt this and the

Feast of Whitsunday next, so that we, the only lawful proprietors thereof, may enter thereto, and afterwards enjoy the commodities of the Kirk, which ye have heretofore wrongly holden from us. Certifying you, if ye fail, we will at the said term, in whole number—with the help of God, and assistance of His saints on earth, of whose ready support we doubt not—enter and take possession of our said patrimony, and eject you utterly forth of the same.¹

‘ Let him therefore that before hath stolen, steal no more ; but rather let him work with his hands, that he may be helpful to the poor.

‘ FROM THE WHOLE CITIES, TOWNS, AND VILLAGES OF SCOTLAND, THE FIRST DAY OF JANUARY 1558 ’ [1559].

The Bishops continued in their Provincial Council even unto [2nd May 1559] the day that John Knox arrived in Scotland. That they might give some show to the people that they minded Reformation, they sparsed abroad a rumour thereof, and set forth somewhat in print, which of the people was called ‘ The Twapenny Faith.’²

1. Among their Aets there was much ado for caps, shaven crowns, tippets, long gowns, and such other trifles.

2. *Item*, That none should enjoy office or benefice ecclesiastical, except a Priest.

3. *Item*, That no Kirk-man should nourish his own bairns in his own company ; but that every one should hold the children of others.

¹ Three days before 15th May 1559, the time mentioned, the three great monasteries in Perth of the Franciscans, Dominicans, and the Charterhouse were utterly destroyed by the mob, or the ‘ rascal multitude,’ as Knox called them.

² *The Twopenny Faith* (Bannatyne *Miscellany*, vol. iii.), published in 1558-59 under Archbishop Hamilton’s auspices, was at one time confounded with Archbishop Hamilton’s *Catechism*, published in 1552, which was probably composed by Dean John Winram, afterwards a Protestant minister. See the *Catechism* published in 1884 by the Clarendon Press, edited by Mr. T. G. Law, with a Preface by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, and Professor Mitchell’s note on the authorship of the *Catechism* at the end of his introduction to Gans’ ‘ Richt Vay ’ (Scottish Text Society).

4. That none should put his own son in his own benefice.

5. That if any were found in open adultery, for the first fault he should lose the third of his benefice ; for the second crime, the half ; and for the third, the whole benefice.

But herefrom appealed the Bishop of Moray and other Prelates, saying, ‘ That they would abide at the Canon Law.’ And so might they well enough do, so long as they remained interpreters, dispensators, makers, and disannullers of that law. But let the same law have the true interpretation and just execution, and the Devil shall as soon be proven a true and obedient servant unto God, as any of that sort shall be proven a Bishop, or yet to have any just authority within the Church of Christ Jesus. But we return to our History.

The persecution [of Protestants] was decreed, as well by the Queen Regent as by the Prelates. But there rested a point, which the Queen Regent and France had not at that time obtained ; to wit, That the Crown Matrimonial¹ should be granted to

The Scottish
Crown Matri-
monial, 1558.

Francis, husband to our Sovereign, and so should France and Scotland be but one kingdom, the subjects of both Realms to have equal liberty, Scotsmen in France and Frenchmen in Scotland. The glistre (*lustre*) of the profit that was judged would ensue to Scotsmen, at the first sight blinded many men’s eyes. But a small wind caused that mist suddenly to vanish away ; for the greatest offices and benefices within the Realm were appointed for Frenchmen. Monsieur de Rubie kept the Great Seal ; and Bartholomew Villemore was Comptroller. Melrose and Kelso should have been a ‘ commend’ to the poor Cardinal of Lorraine !² The freedom

¹ The grant of the Crown Matrimonial of Scotland to Francis meant that he would be entitled to the Scottish throne on Mary’s death with or without issue.

² The practice was a common one of giving the revenues of Abbeys to persons who discharged no duties in connection with these establishments. In such cases, the Abbey was said to be given *in commendam*. This was one of the scandals which brought about the Reformation. Writing from within the Catholic Church, John Major, Knox’s teacher at Glasgow, in his *History of Greater Britain*, said :—‘ By open flattery do the worthless sons of our

of Scottish merchants was restrained in Rouen, and they were compelled to pay toll other than their ancient liberties did bear.

But to get the Matrimonial Crown, the Queen Regent left no point of the compass unsailed. With the Bishops and Priests she practised in this manner:—‘Ye may clearly see that I cannot do what I would within this Realm; for these heretics and confederates of England are so banded together, that they stop all good order. But, if ye will be favourable unto me in this suit of the Matrimonial Crown to be granted to my daughter’s husband, then shall ye see how I shall handle these heretics and traitors ere it be long.’ In very deed, in *these* promises, she meant no deceit! Unto the Protestants she said: ‘I am not unmindful how oft ye have suited (*petitioned*) me for Reformation in religion. Gladly would I consent thereunto; but ye see the power and craft of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, together with the power of the Duke and of the Kirk-men, ever bent against me in all my proceedings. I may do nothing unless the full authority of this realm be devolved to the King of France, which cannot be but by donation of the Crown Matrimonial; which thing if ye will bring to pass, then devise what ye please in matters of religion, and they shall be granted.’

With this commission was Lord James, then Prior of St. Andrews, directed to the Earl of Argyle, with more other promises than we list to rehearse. By such dissimulation to those that were simple and true of heart, inflamed she them to be more fervent in her petition, than herself appeared to be. So at the Parliament, held at nobility get the governance of convents *in commendam*. The wealth of these foundations is set before them like a mark before a poor bowman. They covet these ample revenues, not for the good help that they thence might render unto their brethren, but solely for the high position that these places offer, that out of them they may have the chance to fill their own pockets.’ The proposal referred to by Knox was doubly scandalous in the case of the Cardinal of Lorraine. Archbishop of Rheims at sixteen and Cardinal of Lorraine at twenty-three, he held at one time two other archbishoprics—Narbonne and Lyons—and seven wealthy bishoprics.

Edinburgh in the month of October, the year of God 1558, it was clearly voted, no man reclaiming, except the Duke for his interest. Yet for it there was no better law produced, except that there was a solemn Mass appointed for that purpose in the Pontifical !

This head obtained, whereat France and the Queen Regent principally shot, what faith she kept unto the Protestants, in our Second Book shall be declared. In the beginning whereof, we must more amply rehearse some things, that in this our First are summarily touched.



25. Medallion of Knox struck at Geneva.
His age at death is stated as 57, instead of 67.



BOOK II

1558-1559

*From the First Petition of the Protestants to the Queen
Regent in 1558 to the mission of William Maitland of
Lethington to Queen Elizabeth in 1559.*

THE SECOND BOOK of the
History of things done in Scot-
land, in the Reformation of Reli-
gion, beginning in the year of God
Mcccc Fifty-Eight.



26. John Knox.

From the portrait by Hondius in *Praestantium aliquot Theologorum Effigies quibus addita Elogia*, by Jacobus Verheiden (The Hague, 1602). This picture was taken from a portrait of Knox sent by Sir Peter Young (tutor to James vi.) to Theodore Beza. In his letter, dated 13th November 1579, Young gives the following vivid description (in Latin) of Knox's appearance:—

‘In stature he was slightly under the middle height, of well-knit and graceful figure, with shoulders somewhat broad, longish fingers, head of moderate size, hair black, complexion somewhat dark, and general appearance not unpleasing.

‘In his stern and severe countenance there was a natural dignity and majesty not without a certain grace, and in anger there was an air of command on his brow. Under a somewhat narrow forehead his brows stood out in a slight ridge over his ruddy and slightly swelling cheeks, so that his eyes seemed to retreat into his head. The colour of his eyes was bluish grey, their glance keen and animated. His face was rather long; his nose of more than ordinary length; the mouth large; the lips full, the upper a little thicker than the lower; his beard black mingled with grey, a span and a half long, and moderately thick.

PREFACE¹

LEST Satan by our long silence shall take occasion to slander us, the Protestants of the Realm of Scotland, as if our fact (*action*) tended rather to Sedition and Rebellion, than to Reformation of manners and abuses in Religion; we have thought expedient, so truly and briefly as we can, to commit to writing the causes moving us—us, we say, a great part of the Nobility and Barons of the Realm—to take the sword of just defence against those that most unjustly seek our destruction. In this our Confession, we shall faithfully declare, what moved us to put our hands to the Reformation of Religion; and how we have proceeded in the same; what we have asked, and what presently we require, of the Sacrate (*constituted*) Authority; to the end that, our cause being known, as well our enemies as our brethren in all realms may understand how falsely we are accused of tumult and rebellion, and how unjustly we are persecuted by France and by their faction. As also that our brethren, natural Scotsmen, of what religion so ever they be, may have occasion to ex-

¹ The Second Book was written about 1560; the First Book not till 1566. Hence the existence and form of this Preface. It must be to the Second Book that Randolph refers in his letter to Cecil of 23rd September 1560:—‘I have talked at large with Master Knox concerning his *History*. As much as he has written thereof shall be sent to Your Honour, at the coming of the Lords Ambassadors, by Master John Wood. *He hath written only one Book*. If you like that, he shall continue the same, or add any more. He sayeth he must have farther help than is to be found in this country, for more assured knowledge of things past than he hath himself, or can come by here. It is a work not to be neglected, and [it is] greatly [to be] wished that it should be well handled.’

aminate themselves, if they may with safe conscience oppose themselves to us, who seek nothing but Christ Jesus His glorious Evangel to be preached. His holy Sacraments to be truly ministrate, superstition, tyranny, and idolatry to be suppressed in this Realm: and finally, the liberty of this our native country to remain free from the bondage and tyranny of strangers.



27. Crown of St. Giles, Edinburgh.

CHAPTER I

FROM THE FIRST PETITION OF THE PROTESTANTS TO
THE QUEEN REGENT IN 1558, TO HER DOUBLE-
DEALING IN 1559.

WHILE the Queen Regent practised with the Prelates, how Christ Jesus His Blessed Evangel might utterly be suppressed within Scotland, God so blessed the labours of His weak servants, that no small part of the Barons of this Realm began to abhor the tyranny of the Bishops. God did so open their eyes by the light of His Word, that they could clearly discern betwixt idolatry and the true honouring of God. Yea, men almost universally began to doubt whether they might—God not offended—give their bodily presence to the Mass, or yet offer their children to the Papistical Baptism. To the which doubts, when the most godly and the most learned in Europe had answered, both by word and writ, affirming, ‘That neither we might do, without the extreme peril of our souls,’ we began to be more troubled.

Then also began men of estimation, and that bare rule among us, to examine themselves concerning their duties, as well towards Reformation of Religion, as towards the just defence of their brethren most cruelly persecuted. So began divers questions to be moved, to wit, ‘If with safe conscience such as were Judges, Lords, and Rulers of the people, might serve the upper powers in maintaining idolatry, in persecuting their brethren, and in suppressing Christ’s Truth?’ Or, ‘Whether they, to whom God in some cases had committed the Sword of Justice, might suffer the blood of their brethren

to be shed in their presence, without any declaration that such tyranny displeased them?' By the plain Scriptures it was found, 'That a lively faith required a plain confession, when Christ's Truth is oppugned; that not only are they guilty that do evil, but also they that consent to evil.' And plain it is, that they consent to evil, who, seeing iniquity openly committed, seem by their silence to justify and allow whatsoever is done.

These things being resolved, and sufficiently proven by evident Scriptures of God, we began every man to look more diligently to his salvation: for the idolatry and tyranny of the clergy, called the Churchmen, was, and is, so manifest, that whosoever doth deny it, declares himself ignorant of God, and enemy to Christ Jesus. We, therefore, with humble confession of our former offences, with fasting and supplication unto God, began to seek some remedy in so present a danger. First, it was concluded: 'That the Brethren in every town at certain times should assemble together, to Common Prayers, to Exercise and Reading of the Scriptures, till it should please God to give the Sermon of Exhortation to some, for comfort and instruction of the rest.'

This our weak beginning God did so bless, that within few months the hearts of many were so strengthened, that we sought to have the face of a Church among us, and open crimes to be punished without respect of persons. For that purpose, by common election, were Elders appointed, to whom the whole brethren promised obedience. At that time we had no public Ministers of the Word: only did certain zealous men—among whom were John Erskine, the Laird of Dun, David Forrest, Master Robert Lockhart, Master Robert Hamilton, William Harlaw,¹ and others—exhort

¹ All these were laymen, except perhaps Robert Hamilton, afterwards minister of St. Andrews. Lockhart subsequently went over to the Queen Regent's side. In the Royal Treasurer's Accounts, under date 16th January 1560, there is this entry:—'By the Queen's Grace's Precept to Master Robert Lockhart, xxx. lib.'

their brethren, according to the gifts and graces granted unto them. But shortly after did God stir up His servant, Paul Methven—his latter fall ought not to deface the work of God in him¹—who in boldness of spirit began openly to preach Christ Jesus in Dundee, in divers parts of Angus, and in Fife; and so did God work with him, that many began openly to abrenounce their old idolatry, and to submit themselves to Christ Jesus, and unto His Blessed Ordinances; insomuch that the town of Dundee began to erect the face of a public Church Reformed, in which the Word was openly preached, and Christ's Sacraments truly ministered.

In the meantime did God send to us our dear brother, John Willock, a man godly, learned, and grave, who, after his short abode at Dundee, repaired to Edinburgh, and there, notwithstanding his long and dangerous sickness, did so encourage the brethren by godly exhortations, that we began to deliberate upon some public Reformation; for the corruption in religion was such, that with safe conscience we could no longer sustain it.

Yet because we would attempt nothing without the knowledge of the Sacrate Authority, with one consent, after the deliberation of many days, it was concluded, that by our Public and Common Supplication, we should attempt the favour, support, and assistance of the Queen, then Regent, to a godly Reformation. For that purpose, after we had drawn our Oration and Petition, as followeth, we appointed from among us a man whose age and years deserved reverence, whose honesty and worship might have craved audience of any Magistrate on earth, and whose faithful service to the Authority at all times had been such, that on him could fall no suspicion of unlawful disobedience. This Orator was that ancient and honourable father, Sir James Sandilands of Calder, Knight, to whom we gave

The
Protestants
resolve to
Petition the
Queen Regent,
1558.

¹ Paul Methven, afterwards minister of Jedburgh, was deposed and excommunicated for immorality, in 1563.

commission and power in all our names then present, before the Queen Regent thus to speak :—

‘THE FIRST PETITION OF THE PROTESTANTS OF SCOTLAND
TO THE QUEEN REGENT, 1558.¹

‘MOST NOBLE PRINCESS,

‘Albeit we have of long time contained ourselves in that modesty, that neither exile of body, tinsel (*loss*) of goods, nor perishing of this mortal life, were able to convene us to ask at Your Grace reformation and redress of those wrongs, and of that sore grief, patiently borne by us in body and mind of so long time, yet now, of very conscience and by the fear of our God, are we compelled to crave at Your Grace’s feet, remedy against the most unjust tyranny used against Your Grace’s most obedient subjects, by those that be called the Estate Ecclesiastical.

‘Your Grace cannot be ignorant what controversy hath been, and yet is, concerning the True Religion and right worshipping of God, and how the Clergy usurp to themselves such empire above the consciences of men, that whatsoever they command must be obeyed, and whatsoever they forbid must be avoided, without farther respect to God’s pleasure, commandment, or will, revealed to us in His Most Holy

¹ The dignified moderation of tone in this Petition is in striking contrast with the intolerant and high-handed terms of later Protestant documents. Three causes tend to account for this difference:—*first*, the failure of the Church and the Crown to give any real effect to the most moderate requests for reform; *second*, the repeated breach by both Church and Crown of solemn promises made to the Reforming party; and *third*, the belief, now proved to have been well-founded, that the promises of toleration made both by Mary, Queen of Scots, and by her mother, the Queen Regent, were made only to deceive. It is true that Knox was ignorant of the first principles of toleration. In this particular he never emancipated himself from one of the deadliest errors which the Roman, not the Protestant, Church had taught him. At the same time, it is fair to remember that he never had a fair chance to consider the question of toleration. The only body to whom toleration was refused was a Church which unceasingly proclaimed its intention to suppress all difference of religious opinion by fire and sword.

Word. Otherwise, there abideth nothing for us but faggot, fire and sword, by which many of our brethren, most cruelly and most unjustly, have been stricken of late years within this Realm. This now we find to wound our consciences; for we acknowledge it to have been our bounden duty before God, either to have defended our brethren from those cruel murderers, seeing we are a part of that power which God had established in this realm, or else to have given open testification of our faith with them, which now we offer to do, lest by our continual silence we shall seem to justify their cruel tyranny. This doth not only displease us, but Your Grace's wisdom most prudently doth foresee that, for the quieting of this intestine dissension, a public Reformation, as well in Religion as in Temporal Government, is most necessary; and to the performance thereof, most gravely and most godly, as we are informed, ye have exhorted as well the Clergy as the Nobility, to employ their study, diligence, and care.

'We therefore in conscience dare no longer dissemble in so weighty a matter, which concerneth the Glory of God and our salvation. Neither now dare we withdraw our presence, nor conceal our petitions, lest the adversaries hereafter shall object to us, that place was granted to Reformation, and yet no man suited for the same; and so shall our silence be prejudicial unto us in time to come. Therefore, we, knowing no other Order placed in this Realm, but Your Grace, in your grave Council, set to amend, as well disorder Ecclesiastical as defaults in the Temporal regiment, most humbly prostrate ourselves before your feet, asking justice, and your gracious help against them that falsely traduce and accuse us that we are heretics and schismatics, under that colour seeking our destruction. We only seek the amendment of their corrupt lives, and Christ's Religion to be restored to the original purity.

'Farther, we crave of Your Grace, with open and patent ears, to hear these our subsequent requests; and to the joy

and satisfaction of our troubled consciences, mercifully to grant the same, unless by God's plain Word any be able to prove that justly they ought to be denied.

'First, Humbly we ask, that as we have by the Laws of this Realm, after long debate, obtained to read the Holy Books of the Old and New Testaments in our common tongue, as spiritual food to our souls, so from henceforth it may be lawful that we may convene, publicly or privately, to our Common Prayers, in our vulgar tongue; to the end that we may increase in knowledge, and be induced, in fervent and oft prayers, to commend to God the Holy Church Universal, the Queen our Sovereign, her Honourable and Gracious Husband [the Dauphin of France], the stability of their succession, Your Grace Regent, the Nobility and whole Estate of this Realm.

'Secondly, If there shall happen in our said conventions any hard place of Scripture to be read, of which no profit ariseth to the conveners, that it shall be lawful to any qualified person in knowledge, being present, to interpret and open up the hard places, to God's glory and to the profit of the auditory; and if any think that this liberty should be occasion of confusion, debate, or heresy, we are content that it be provided that the said interpretation shall underlie the judgment of the most godly and most learned within the realm at this time.

'Thirdly, That the Holy Sacrament of Baptism may be used in the vulgar tongue; that the godfathers¹ and witnesses

¹ The abolition of godparents in modern Presbyterian practice cannot be traced to Knox any more than the disuse of instrumental music or of a liturgy. At the baptism of Nathanael, Knox's eldest son, Dr. Myles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, acted as godfather, and at the baptism of Eleazar, the godfather was William Whittingham, afterwards Dean of Durham. Knox's participation in the preparation of liturgies, English and Scotch, is noticed afterwards. As to organs, Knox took part in many services at which they were used, as, for instance, when he preached as a Royal Chaplain before Edward VI. at Windsor, at Hampton Court, at the Chapel Royal, St. James's, and at Westminster; and his writings, voluminous and varied as they are, do not contain a word in condemnation of the use of instrumental music in congregational worship.

may not only understand the points of the league and contract made betwixt God and the infant, but also that the Church then assembled may more gravely be instructed in their duties, which at all times they owe to God according to that promise made unto Him when they were received into His household by the lavacre (*washing*) of spiritual regeneration.

‘*Fourthly*, We desire that the Holy Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, or of His Most Blessed Body and Blood, may likewise be ministrated unto us in the vulgar tongue; and in both kinds, according to the plain institution of Our Saviour Christ Jesus.

‘*And last*, We most humbly require, that the wicked, slanderous, and detestable life of Prelates, and of the State Ecclesiastical, may be so reformed, that the people have not occasion, as of many days they have had, to condemn their ministry, and the preaching whereof they should be messengers. If they suspect that we, rather envying their honours, or coveting their riches and possessions, than zealously desiring their amendment and salvation, do travail for this Reformation, we are content that not only the precepts of the New Testament, but also the writings of the ancient Fathers, and the godly approved Laws of Justinian the Emperor, should decide the controversy betwixt us and them. If it shall be found, that either malevolently or ignorantly, we ask more than these three forenamed require of able and true ministers of Christ’s Church, we refuse not such correction as Your Grace, with right judgment, shall think meet. But if all the forenamed shall condemn that which we condemn and approve that which we require, then we most earnestly beseech Your Grace that, notwithstanding the long consuetude which they have had to live as they list, they be compelled either to desist from ecclesiastical administration, or to discharge their duties as becometh true ministers; so that the grave and godly face of the Primitive Church having been reduced (*brought back*), ignorance may

be expelled, and true doctrine and good manners may once again appear in the Church of this Realm.

‘These things we, as most obedient subjects, require of Your Grace, in the name of the Eternal God, and of His Son, Christ Jesus; in presence of Whose Throne Judicial, ye and all other that here on earth bear authority, shall give account of your temporal regiment. The Spirit of the Lord Jesus move Your Grace’s heart to justice and equity. Amen.’

These our Petitions being proponed, the Estate Ecclesiastical began to storm, and to devise all manner of lies to
 Absurd terms deface the equity of our cause. They bragged
 proposed by that they would have public disputation, which
 the Popish also we most earnestly required,—two things
 Estate being provided, *the former*, That the plain and
 Ecclesiastical. written Scriptures of God should decide all controversy;
secondly, That our brethren, of whom some were then exiled,
 and by them unjustly damned, might have free access to the
 said disputation, and safe conduct to return to their dwelling-
 places, notwithstanding any process which before had been
 laid against them in matters concerning religion. But these
 being by them utterly denied—for no judge would they admit
 but themselves, their Councils, and Canon law—they and
 their faction began to draw certain Articles of Reconciliation,
 promising unto us, if we would admit the Mass to stand in
 its former reverence and estimation, and grant Purgatory
 after this life, and confess Prayer to Saints and for the Dead,
 and suffer them to enjoy their accustomed rents, possession,
 and honour, then they would grant unto us to pray and
 baptize in the vulgar tongue, so that it were done secretly,
 and not in the open assembly!

The grossness of these Articles was such, that with one voice we refused them; and constantly craved justice of the Queen Regent, and a reasonable answer of our former Petitions.

The Queen Regent—a woman crafty, dissimulate, and false—thinking to make her profit of both parties, gave to

us permission to use ourselves godly according to our desires, provided we should not make public assemblies in Edinburgh or Leith; and did promise her assistance to our Preachers, until some uniform order might be established by a Parliament. To the Clergy, she quietly gave signification of her mind, promising that how soon any opportunity should serve, she should so put order in their matters that, after, they should not be troubled. Some say they gave her a large purse—40,000 pounds, says the Chronicle, gathered by Sir William Bruce, the Laird of Earlshall. We, not suspecting her doubleness or falsehood, departed, fully contented with her answer; and for her pleasure, did use ourselves so quietly that we put silence to John Douglas, who publicly would have preached in the town of Leith. In all things we sought the contentment of her mind, so far forth as God should not be offended against us for obeying her in things unlawful.

The Protest-
ants silence
John Douglas
to please the
Queen Regent.

Shortly after these things, that cruel tyrant and unmerciful hypocrite, falsely called Archbishop of St. Andrews, apprehended that Blessed Martyr of Christ Jesus, WALTER MYLN, a man of decrepit age, whom most cruelly and most unjustly he put to death by fire in St. Andrews, the twenty-eighth day of April, the year of God j^m v^c fifty-eight years. [1558]. Which thing did so highly offend the hearts of all godly, that immediately after his death began a new fervency among the whole people; yea, even in the town of St. Andrews, began the people plainly to damn such unjust cruelty. In testification that they would his death should abide in recent memory, there was cast together a great heap of stones in the place where he was burnt. The Bishop and Priests, thereat offended, caused once or twice to remove the same, with denunciation of cursing, if any man should there lay any stone. In vain was that wind blown; for still was the heap made, till the Priests and Papists did steal

Martyrdom of
Walter Myln,
82 years old,
on 28th April
1558.

away by night the stones to big (*build*) their walls, and to other their private uses.¹

We, suspecting not that the Queen Regent was consenting to the forenamed murder, most humbly did complain of such unjust cruelty, requiring that justice in such cases should be ministered with greater indifferency. She, as a woman born to dissemble and deceive, began with us to lament the cruelty of the Archbishop, excusing herself as innocent in that cause. She said that the sentence was given without her knowledge, because the man had been a Priest, and therefore, the Bishop's Official did proceed upon him *ex officio*, as they term it, without any Commission of the Civil Authority.

We, yet nothing suspecting her falsehood, required some order to be taken against such enormities, which she promised as oft before. But, because shortly after there was a Parliament to be holden for certain affairs, pertaining rather to the Queen's profit particular than to the commodity of the Commonwealth, we thought good to expone our matter unto the whole Parliament, and by them to seek some redress. We therefore, with one consent, did offer to the Queen and Parliament a Letter in this tenor:—

‘Unto Your Grace, and unto You, Right Honourable Lords of this present Parliament, humbly mean and show your Grace's faithful and obedient subjects:—

‘That we are daily molested, slandered, and injured by wicked and ignorant persons, place-holders of the ministers of the Church, who most untruly cease not to infame us as Heretics, and under that name most cruelly have persecuted divers of our brethren; and, farther, intend to execute their

¹ Myln was the last Protestant martyr in Scotland. He had himself expressed the hope that this might be so. An obelisk at St. Andrews bears this inscription: ‘In memory of the martyrs, Patriek Hamilton, Henry Forrest, George Wishart, Walter Mill, who, in support of the Protestant Faith, suffered by fire at St. Andrews, between the years 1528 and 1558. *The Righteous shall be held in everlasting remembrance.*’

malice against us, unless by some godly order their fury and rage be bridled and stayed. Yet in us they are able to prove no crime worthy of punishment, unless that to read the Holy Scriptures in our assemblies, to invoke the Name of God in public prayers, with all sobriety to interpret and open the places of Scripture that be read to the farther edification of the brethren assembled, and truly, according to Christ Jesus His holy institution, to minister the Sacraments, be crimes worthy of punishment. Other crimes in us they are not able to convict.

‘These things require we to be considered by you, who occupy the place of the Eternal God, who is God of Order and Truth, even in such sort as ye will answer in the presence of His Throne Judicial. We require further, that favourably ye will have respect to the tenderness of our consciences, and to the trouble which appeareth to follow in this Commonwealth, if the tyranny of the Prelates, and of their adherents, be not bridled by God and just laws. God move your hearts deeply to consider your own duties and our present troubles.’

These our Petitions did we first present to the Queen Regent, because we were determined to enterprise nothing without her knowledge, most humbly requiring her favourable assistance in our just action. She spared not amiable looks, and good words in abundance; but always she kept our Bill close in her pocket. When we required secretly of Her Grace that our Petition should be proponed to the whole Assembly, she answered: ‘She thought not that expedient. Then would the whole Ecclesiastical Estate be contrary to her proceedings’—which at that time were great, for the Matrimonial Crown of Scotland was asked in favour of Francis, Dauphin of France, and in that Parliament granted—‘but,’ said she, ‘how soon order can be taken

Only amiable
looks and
good words
from the
Queen Regent.

with these things, which now may be hindered by the Kirkmen, ye shall know my good mind : and, in the meantime, whatsoever I can grant unto you, shall gladly be granted.'

We, yet nothing suspecting her falsehood, were content to give place for a time to her pleasure and pretended reasons.

Protestation in Yet thought we expedient somewhat to pro-
Parliament. test before the dissolution of the Parliament ;

for our Petitions were manifestly known to the whole Assembly, as also how, for the Queen's pleasure, we had ceased to pursue to the uttermost. Our Protestation was formed in manner following :—

'First, We Protest, that seeing we cannot obtain a just Reformation, according to God's Word, that it be lawful to us to use ourselves in matters of Religion and Conscience, as we must answer unto God, unto such time as our adversaries be able to prove themselves the true ministers of Christ's Church, and to purge themselves of such crimes as we have already laid to their charge, offering ourselves to prove the same whensoever the Sacrate Authority pleases to give us audience.

'Secondly, We Protest, that neither we, nor yet any other that godly list to join with us in the True Faith, which is grounded upon the invincible Word of God, shall incur any danger in life and lands, or other political pains, for not observing such Acts as heretofore have passed in favour of our adversaries, neither yet for violating of such Rites as man without God's commandment or word hath commanded.

'Thirdly, We Protest if any tumult or uproar shall arise amongst the members of this realm for the diversity of religion, and if it shall chance that abuses be violently reformed, that the crime thereof be not imputed to us, who most humbly do now seek all things to be reformed by an order ; but rather whatsoever inconvenient shall happen to follow for lack of order taken, that may be imputed to those that do refuse the same.

'Last, We Protest that these our requests, proceeding

from conscience, do tend to none other end, but to the Reformation of abuses in Religion only. We most humbly beseech the Sacrate Authority to take us, faithful and obedient subjects, into protection against our adversaries; and to show unto us such indifferency in our most just Petitions, as it becometh God's Lieutenants to do to those that in His name do call for defence against cruel oppressors and bloodthirsty tyrants.'

These our Protestations publicly read, we desired them to have been inserted in the Common Register; but that, by labours of our enemies, was denied unto us.

Not the less, the Queen Regent said: 'Me will remember what is protested; and me shall put good order to all things that now be in controversy.'

The value of
the Queen
Regent's
promises.

Thus, after she by craft had obtained her purpose, we departed in good esperance of her favour, praising God in our hearts, that she was so well inclined towards godliness. The good opinion that we had of her sincerity, caused us not only to spend our goods and hazard our bodies at her pleasure, but also, by our public letters written to that excellent servant of God, John Calvin, we did praise and commend her for excellent knowledge in God's Word, and good-will towards the advancement of His glory, requiring of him that by his grave counsel and godly exhortation, he would animate Her Grace constantly to follow that which godly she had begun. We did farther sharply rebuke, both by word and writing, all such as appeared to suspect in her any venom of hypocrisy.

How far we were deceived in our opinion, and abused by her craft, did suddenly appear. As soon as all things pertaining to the commodity of France were granted

by us, and peace was contracted betwixt King Philip Second of Spain, and France, and England, and us [at Cateau-Cambrésis, on

The Queen
Regent's
double-
dealing.

2nd April 1559], she began to disclose the latent venom of her double heart. Incontinent (*forthwith*), she caused our

Preachers to be summoned, of whom she said: 'In despite of you and of your Ministers both, they shall be banished out of Scotland, albeit they preached as truly as ever did Saint Paul!' Which proud and blasphemous answer did greatly astonish us. Yet ceased we not most humbly to seek her favour, and, by great diligence, at last obtained that the summonses were at that time delayed. To her were sent Alexander, Earl of Glencairn, and Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudoun, knight, Sheriff of Ayr, to reason with her, and to crave some performance of her manifold promises. To whom she answered: 'It becometh not subjects to burden their Princes with promises, farther than it pleaseth them to keep the same.' Both these noble men faithfully and boldly discharged their duty, and plainly forewarned her of the inconveniences that were to follow; whereat she, somewhat astonished, said, 'She would advise.'¹

¹ When Archbishop Laud was urging James VI. to force Episcopacy on Scotland, James wrote:—'I durst not play fast-and-loose with my word. He knows not the stomach of that people. But I ken the story of my grandmother, the Queen Regent. After she was inveigled to break her promise made to some mutineers at a Perth meeting, she never saw good day; but, from thence, being much beloved before, was despised by her people.'



28. Mary of Guise, mother of Mary, Queen of Scots. From a wood carving, originally part of the roof of the Parliament House in Stirling Castle.

CHAPTER II

THE QUEEN REGENT'S FALSEHOOD; HER ATTEMPT TO
SUPPRESS PROTESTANTISM IN PERTH; JOHN KNOX'S
ARRIVAL FROM FRANCE ON 2ND MAY 1559.

IN the meantime did the town of Perth, called St. Johnestoun, embrace The Truth. This did provoke the Queen Regent to a new fury; in which she willed the Lord Ruthven, Provost of that town, to suppress all such religion there. To which he answered: 'I can make their bodies to come to Your Grace, and to prostrate themselves before you, till you are fully satiate of heart of their blood, but to cause them to do against their conscience, I can not promise.' She in fury did answer: 'You are too malapert to give me such answer. Both you and they shall repent it.'

Lord Ruthven's answer to the Queen Regent.

She solicited Master James Haliburton, Provost of Dundee, to apprehend Paul Methven. But Haliburton, fearing God, gave secret advertisement to the said Paul to avoid the town for a time. She sent forth such as she thought most able to persuade at Pasch, to cause Montrose, Dundee, St. Johnestoun, and other such places as had received the Evangel, to communicate with the idol of the Mass. But they could profit nothing; the hearts of many were bent to follow the Truth revealed, and did abhor superstition and idolatry. Whereat she, more highly commoved, did summon again all the preachers to compear at Stirling, the tenth

The Queen Regent tries to stem the rising tide.

day of May, the year of God 1559. Which understood by us, we, with all humble obedience, sought the means how she might be appeased, and our Preachers not molested. When we could nothing prevail, it was concluded by the whole brethren, that the Gentlemen of every country should accompany their Preachers to the day and place appointed.

For that purpose the town of Dundee, and the Gentlemen of Angus and Mearns, passed forward with their Preachers to St. Johnestoun, without armour, as peaceable men, minded only to give confession with their Preachers. Lest such a multitude should give fear to the Queen Regent, the Laird of Dun, a zealous, prudent, and godly man, passed before to the Queen, then being in Stirling, to declare to her, that the cause of their Convocation was only to give confession with their Preachers, and to assist them in their just defence. She, understanding the fervency of the people, began to use craft with him, soliciting him to stay the multitude, and the Preachers also, with promise that she would take some better order. He, a man most gentle of nature, and most addict to please her in all things not repugnant to God, wrote to those that were assembled at St. Johnestoun, not to come forward; showing what promises and esperance he had of the Queen's Grace's favours. At the reading of his letters, some did smell the craft and deceit, and persuaded to pass forward, until a Discharge of the former Summons should be had, alleging that otherwise the Process of Horning (*Outlawry*) or Rebellion should be executed against the Preachers; and so should not only they, but also all such as did accompany them, be involved in a like crime. Others did reason, that the Queen's promises were not to be suspected, neither yet the Laird of Dun his request to be contemned; and so did the whole multitude with their Preachers stay.

In this meantime that the Preachers were summoned, to wit, the second of May 1559, arrived John Knox from France, who, lodging two nights only in Edinburgh, hearing the

day appointed to his brethren, repaired to Dundee, where he earnestly required them, 'That he might be permitted to assist his brethren, and to give confession of his faith with them.'¹ This granted unto him, he departed unto St. Johnestoun with them; where he began to exhort, according to the Grace of God granted unto him. The Queen, perceiving that the Preachers did not compear, began to utter her malice; and, notwithstanding requests made in the contrary, gave commandment to put them to the horn (*declare them rebels*), inhibiting all men under pain of high rebellion to assist, comfort, receive, or maintain them in any sort. Which extremity perceived by the Laird of Dun, he prudently withdrew himself. Otherwise, by all appearance, he had not escaped imprisonment; for the Master of Maxwell, a man zealous and stout in God's cause—as then appeared—under the cloak of another small crime, was that same day committed to ward, because he did boldly affirm, 'That to the uttermost of his power he would assist the Preachers and the Congregation, notwithstanding any sentence which unjustly was, or should be, pronounced against them.'²

Arrival of
Knox from
France, 1559.

The Laird of Dun, coming to St. Johnestoun, expounded the case even as it was, and did conceal nothing of the Queen's craft and falsehood. Which understood, the multitude was so inflamed, that neither could the exhortation of the Preachers, nor the commandment of the Magistrate, stay

The Queen
Regent's craft
and what it
led to.

¹ 'I see the battle shall be great: and I am come, I praise my God, even in the brunt of the battle. My fellow-preachers have a day appointed to answer before the Queen Regent, the 10th of this instant, when I intend, if God impede not, also to be present; by life, by death, or else by both, to glorify His Godly Name, who thus mercifully hath heard my long cries. Assist me, Sister, with your prayers, that now I shrink not when the battle approacheth.'—*John Knox to Mrs. Anna Locke*, 2nd May 1559.

² Even Edinburgh Castle could not retain Sir John Maxwell; for Bishop Leslie, in his *History*, narrates:—'The Master of Maxwell departed forth of the Castle of Edinburgh by a cord over the wall thereof, where there were certain horses in readiness with friends of his own. Soon after he joined himself with the Lords of the Congregation.'

them from destroying the places of idolatry. The manner whereof was this:—

The Preachers at Perth had declared how odious was idolatry in God's presence; what commandment He had given for the destruction of the monuments thereof; what idolatry and what abomination was in the Mass. It chanced that the next day, the eleventh of May, after the sermon, which was vehement against idolatry, a priest in contempt would go to the Mass; and to declare his malapert presumption, he would open up a glorious tabernacle which stood upon the High Altar. There stood, beside, certain godly men, and amongst others a young boy, who cried with a loud voice, 'This is intolerable! When God by His Word hath plainly damned idolatry, shall we stand and see it used in despite?' The priest hereat offended, gave the child a great blow. He in anger took up a stone, and casting at the priest, did hit the tabernacle and break down an image. Immediately the whole multitude that were about cast stones, and put hands to the said tabernacle, and to all other monuments of idolatry; which they dispatched before the tenth man in the town was advertised; for the most part were gone to dinner. Which noised abroad, the whole multitude convened, not of the Gentlemen, neither of them that were earnest professors, but of THE RASCAL MULTITUDE, who finding nothing to do in that Church, did run without deliberation to the Grey and Black Friars; and notwithstanding that they had within them very stark guards kept for their defence, yet were their gates incontinent burst up.

The first invasion was upon the idolatry. Thereafter the common people began to seek some spoil; and in very deed the Grey Friars was a place so well provided, that unless honest men had seen the same, we would have feared to report what provision they had. Their sheets, blankets, beds, and

The images in
the Parish
Church of
Perth de-
stroyed, 1559.

Destruction of
three Monas-
teries at Perth
by 'the rascal
multitude.'

covertures were such, as no Earl in Scotland hath better: their napery was fine. They were but eight persons in the Convent, and yet they had eight puncheons of salt beef—consider the time of the year, the eleventh day of May!—wine, beer, and ale, besides store of victuals effeiring (*belonging*) thereto. The like abundance was not in the Black Friars, and yet there was more than became men professing poverty.

The spoil was permitted to the poor: for so had the Preachers before threatened all men, ‘that for covetousness’ sake none should put their hand to such a Reformation,’ that no honest man was enriched thereby the value of a groat. Their consciences so moved them, that they suffered those hypocrites to take away what they could of that which was in their places. Adam Forman, the Prior of Charterhouse, was permitted to take away with him even so much gold and silver as he was well able to carry. So were men’s consciences before beaten with the Word, that they had no respect to their own particular profit, but only to abolish idolatry, and the places and monuments thereof. In this they were so busy, and so laborious, that within two days, these three great places, monuments of idolatry, to wit, the Grey Friars and Black Friars, and Charterhouse, a building of a wondrous cost and greatness, were so destroyed, that the walls only did remain of all these great edifications.

These things reported to the Queen Regent, she was so enraged that she did vow utterly to destroy St. Johnestoun, man, woman, and child, and to consume the same by fire, and thereafter to salt it, in sign of a perpetual desolation.

We—thinking that such words might escape her in choler, without purpose determinate, because she was a woman set afire by the complaints of those hypocrites who flocked unto her, as ravens to a carrion—returned to our own houses; leaving in St. Johnestoun John Knox to instruct, because they were young and rude in Christ. But she, set afire, partly

by her own malice, partly by commandment of her friends in France, and not a little by bribes, which she and Monsieur d'Oysel received from the Bishops and Priests here at home, did continue in her rage. And, first, she sent for all the Nobility, to whom she complained, 'That we meant nothing but a rebellion.' She did grievously aggreage (*magnify*) the destruction of the Charterhouse, because it was a King's foundation, and there was the tomb of King James the First; and by such other persuasions, she made the most part of them grant to pursue us. Then incontinent sent she for her Frenchmen; for that was, and ever hath been, her joy to see Scotsmen dip one with another's blood. No man was at that time more frack against us than was the Duke, led by the cruel beast, the Bishop of St. Andrews, and by those that yet abuse him, the Abbot of Kilwinning, and Matthew Hamilton of Milburn, two chief enemies to Christ Jesus—yea, and enemies to the Duke, and to his whole house, but in so far as thereby they may procure their own particular profit. These and such other pestilent Papists ceased not to cast faggots on the fire, continually crying, 'Forward upon these heretics! We shall once rid this realm of them.'

The certainty hereof coming to our knowledge, some of us repaired to the town [Perth] again, about the 22nd day of May, and there did abide, for the comfort of our brethren: where, after invocation of the name of God, we began to put the town and ourselves in such strength, as we thought might best stand for our just defence. And, because we were not utterly despaired of the Queen's favour, we caused form a letter to Her Grace as follows:—

‘TO THE QUEEN’S GRACE, REGENT, ALL HUMBLE OBEDIENCE
AND DUTY PREMISED.

‘As heretofore, with jeopard of our lives, and yet with willing hearts, we have served the Authority of Scotland, and Your Grace, now Regent in this realm, in service to our

bodies dangerous and painful; so now, with most dolorous minds, we are constrained, by unjust tyranny purposed against us, to declare unto Your Grace, that except this cruelty be stayed by your wisdom, we will be compelled to take the sword of just defence against all that shall pursue us for the matter of religion, and for our conscience' sake, which ought not, nor may not be subject to mortal creatures, farther than by God's Word man be able to prove that he hath power to command us.

‘We signify moreover unto Your Grace, that if by rigour we be compelled to seek the extreme defence, that we will not only notify our innocence and petitions to the King of France, to our Mistress, and to her husband, but also to the Princes and Council of every Christian realm, declaring unto them, that this cruel, unjust, and most tyrannical murder, intended against towns and multitudes, was, and is, the only cause of our revolt from our accustomed obedience, which, in God's presence, we faithfully promise to our Sovereign Mistress, to her husband, and unto your Grace Regent, provided that our consciences may live in that peace and liberty which Christ Jesus hath purchased unto us by His blood, and that we may have His word truly preached, and Holy Sacraments rightly ministrate unto us; without which we firmly purpose never to be subject to mortal man. Better, we think, to expose our bodies to a thousand deaths, than to hazard our souls to perpetual condemnation, by denying Christ Jesus, and His manifest verity, which thing not only do they that commit open idolatry, but also all such as seeing their brethren unjustly pursued for the cause of religion, and having sufficient means to comfort and assist them, do, nevertheless, withdraw from them their dutiful support. We would not Your Grace should be deceived by the false persuasions of these cruel beasts, the kirkmen, who affirm, that Your Grace needeth not greatly to regard the loss of us that profess Christ Jesus in this realm. If—as God forbid!—ye give ear to their pestilent counsel, and so

use against us this extremity pretended, it is to be feared, that neither ye, nor yet your posterity, shall at any time after this find that obedience and faithful service within this realm, which at all times ye have found in us. We declare our judgment freely, as true and faithful subjects. God move Your Grace's heart favourably to interpret our faithful meaning. Farther advertising Your Grace, that the selfsame thing, together with all things we have done, or yet intend to do, we will notify by our letters to the King of France; asking of you, in the name of the Eternal God, and as Your Grace tenders the peace and quietness of this realm, that ye invade us not with violence, till we receive answer from our Mistress, her Husband, and from their advised Council there.

'Thus we commit Your Grace to the protection of the Omnipotent. From St. Johnstoun, the 22nd of May 1559.

'Sic subscribitur,

'Your Grace's obedient subjects in all things not repugning to God,

'THE FAITHFUL CONGREGATION OF JESUS CHRIST
IN SCOTLAND.'

In the same tenor we wrote to Monsieur d'Oysel in French, requiring of him, that by his wisdom he would mitigate the Queen's rage, and the rage of the Priests; otherwise that flame, which then began to burn, would so kindle, that when some men would, it could not be slockened. Adding farther, that he declared himself no faithful servant to his master, the King of France, if for the pleasure of the priests, he would persecute us and so compel us to take the sword of just defence. In like manner we wrote to Captain Serra la Burse, and to all the other captains, and French soldiers in general, admonishing them, that their vocation was not to fight against us natural Scotsmen; neither yet that they had any such commandment of their master. We besought them, therefore, not to provoke us to enmity against them, considering that they had found us favourable

in their most extreme necessities. We declared farther unto them, that if they entered in hostility and bloody war against us, that the same should remain longer than their and our lives, to wit, even in all posterities to come, so long as natural Scotsmen should have power to revenge such cruelty and most horrible ingratitude.

These letters were caused to be spread abroad in great abundance, to the end that some might come to the knowledge of men. The Queen Regent's letter was laid upon her cushion in the Chapel Royal of Stirling, where she accustomed to sit at Mass. She looked upon it, and put it in the pocket of her gown. Monsieur d'Oysel and the captains received theirs delivered even by their own soldiers—for some amongst them were favourers of the Truth¹—who, after the reading of them, began to rive (*tear*) their own beards; for that was the modest behaviour of Monsieur d'Oysel, when the truth was told unto him, so that it repugned to his fantasy! These our letters were suppressed to the uttermost of their power, and yet they came to the knowledge of many. But the rage of the Queen and Priests could not be stayed, but forward they move against us, who then were but a very few and mean number of Gentlemen in St. Johnestoun. We, perceiving the extremity to approach, did write to all brethren, to repair towards us for our relief, to the which we found all men so ready bent, that the work of God was evidently to be espied; and because we would omit no diligence to declare our innocency to all men, we formed a letter to those of the Nobility who then persecuted us.

The brethren in Cuninghame and Kyle convened at the Kirk of Craigie, in Ayrshire, where, after some contrarious reasons, Alexander, Earl of Glencairn, in zeal, burst forth in these words: 'Let every man serve his conscience. I will, by God's grace, see my brethren in St. Johnestoun—yea,

The Earl of
Glencairn's
bold resolu-
tion.

¹ French Huguenots.

albeit never a man should accompany me—I will go, if it were but with a pike upon my shoulder. I had rather die with that company than live after them.’ These words so encouraged the rest, that all decreed to go forward. That they did so stoutly, that when the Lyon Herald, in his coat armour, commanded all men by public sound of trumpet in Glasgow, to return to their houses, under the pain of treason, never man obeyed that charge, but all went forward.

Our requests and advertisements notwithstanding, Monsieur d’Oysel and his Frenchmen, with the priests and their bands, marched forward against us to St. Johnestoun, and approached within ten miles to the town. Then repaired the Brethren from all quarters for our relief. The Gentlemen of Fife, Angus, and Mearns, with the town of Dundee, were they that first hazarded to resist the enemy; and for that purpose was chosen a piece of ground, a mile or more distant from the town.

In this meantime the Lord Ruthven, Provost of the town of St. Johnestoun, and a man whom many judged stout and godly in that action—as in very deed he was even to his last breath—left the town, and first departed to his own place, and after to the Queen. His defection and revolt was a great discouragement to the hearts of many; and yet did God so comfort His own, that within the space of twelve hours after, the hearts of all men were erected again. For those that were then assembled did not so much hope victory by their own strength, as by the power of Him whose verity they professed, and began one to comfort another till the whole multitude was erected in a reasonable esperance.

On the 24th of May 1559 came the Earl of Argyle, Lord James Stewart, Prior of St. Andrews, and the Lord Semple [to Perth], directed from the Queen Regent to inquire the cause of the convocation of lieges there. To whom it was answered, that it was only to resist the cruel tyranny devised against the poor town, and the inhabitants of the same. All

men were so well minded to quiet concord that with one voice they cried, 'CURSED BE THEY THAT SEEK EFFUSION OF BLOOD, WAR OR DISSENSION! LET US POSSESS CHRIST JESUS, AND THE BENEFIT OF HIS EVANGEL, AND NONE WITHIN SCOTLAND SHALL BE MORE OBEDIENT SUBJECTS THAN WE.'¹

The day after, which was the five and twentieth of May [1559], before the said Lords departed from Perth in the morning, John Knox desired to speak with them; which granted unto him, he was conveyed to their lodging by Sir Andrew Murray, the Laird of Balvaird, and thus he began:—

Knox's
Message to the
Queen Regent
through the
Earl of Argyle
and the Prior
of St.
Andrews.

'The present troubles, Honourable Lords, ought to move the hearts, not only of the true servants of God, but also of all such as bear any favour to their country and natural countrymen, to descend within themselves and deeply to consider what shall be the end of this tyranny.

'1st. I most humbly require you, My Lords, in my name, to say to the Queen's Grace Regent, that we, whom she in her blind rage doth persecute, are God's servants, faithful and obedient subjects to the Authority of this Realm; and that the religion which she pretendeth to maintain by fire and sword, is not the True Religion of Christ Jesus, but is express contrary to the same, a superstition devised by the brain of man. This I offer myself to prove against all that within Scotland will maintain the contrary, liberty of tongue being granted unto me, and God's written Word being admitted for judge.

'2nd. I farther require Your Honours, in my name, to say unto Her Grace, that this her enterprise shall not prosperously succeed in the end. Albeit for a time she trouble the Saints of God, she fighteth not against man only, but against the Eternal God and His invincible verity; and therefore,

¹ On 1st July 1559, Knox wrote to Sir Henry Percy—'We mean neither sedition, neither yet rebellion against any just and lawful authority, but only the advancement of Christ's religion, and the liberty of this poor realm.'

the end shall be her confusion, unless betimes she repent and desist.¹

‘These things I require of you, in the name of the Eternal God, as from my mouth, to say unto Her Grace ; adding, that I have been, and am, a more assured friend to Her Grace than they that inflame her against us, who seek nothing but God’s glory to be advanced, vice to be suppressed, and verity to be maintained in this poor Realm.’

They all three did promise to report his words, so far as they could, which afterwards we understood they did. Yea, the Lord Semple himself, a man sold under sin, enemy to God and to all godliness, did make such report, that the Queen was somewhat offended, that any man should use such liberty in her presence. She still proceeded in her malice ; for immediately thereafter she sent Robert Forman, her Lyon Herald, with letters, straitly charging all men to avoid the town, under the pain of treason : which letters, after he had declared to the chief men of the Congregation, he publicly proclaimed the same, upon Sunday, the 27th of May. The Queen took order that four ensigns of the soldiers should remain in the town to maintain idolatry, and to resist the Congregation. Honest and indifferent men asked why she did so manifestly violate her promise ? She answered : ‘That she was bounden to no heretics to keep promise ; and moreover, that she promised only to leave the town void of French soldiers, which she did, because these that therein were left were Scotsmen.’ But when it was reasoned in her contrary, that all those that took wages of France were counted French soldiers, she answered : ‘Princes must not so straitly be bounden to keep their promises.

¹ ‘The cruelty and deceit of the Queen Regent has displeased many who before assisted her with their presence and counsel. Among others, the Earl of Argyle and the Prior of St. Andrews left her, and joined themselves to the Congregation openly, which, as it was displeasing to her and to the shavelings, so was it most comfortable and joyful to us, for by their presence were the hearts of many erected from desperation.’—*Kncx to Mrs. Anna Locke, from St. Andrews, 23rd June 1559.*

Myself would make little conscience to take from all that sort their lives and inheritance, if I might do it with as honest an excuse.' Then she left the town in extreme bondage, after her ungodly Frenchmen had most cruelly entreated the most part of these that remained in the same.

The Earl of Argyle, and Lord James foresaid, perceiving in the Queen nothing but mere tyranny and falsehood, mindful of their former promises made to their brethren, did secretly convey themselves and their companies off the town; and with them departed the Lord Ruthven—of whom before mention is made—the Earl of Menteith, and Sir William Murray, the Laird of Tullybardine, who, in God's presence, did confederate and bind themselves together, faithfully promising one to assist and defend another against all persons that would pursue them for religion's sake; and also that they, with their whole force and power, would defend the Brethren persecuted for the same cause. The Queen, highly offended at the sudden departure of the persons foresaid, sent charge to them to return, under the highest pain of her displeasure. But they answered: 'That with safe conscience they could not be partakers of so manifest tyranny as by her was committed, and of so great iniquity as they perceived devised, by her and her ungodly Council the Prelates.'

This answer was given to her the first day of June, and immediately the Earl of Argyle and Lord James repaired towards St. Andrews, and in their journey gave advertisement, by writing, to the Laird of Dun, to the Laird of Pittarrow, to the Provost of Dundee, and others, professors in Angus, to visit them in St. Andrews the fourth of June, for Reformation to be made there.

CHAPTER III

FROM JOHN KNOX'S SERMON AT ST. ANDREWS ON
11TH JUNE 1559, TO HIS SERMON AT EDINBURGH
ON 5TH NOVEMBER 1559.

JOHN KNOX minded to preach in St. Andrews on Sunday [4th June 1559]. The Archbishop, hearing of Reformation to be made in his Cathedral Church, thought time to stir, or else never; and therefore assembled his colleagues and confederate fellows, besides his other friends, and came to the town upon the Saturday at night, accompanied with a hundred spears, of mind to have stopped John Knox. The two Lords, the Earl of Argyle and Lord James Stewart, and the Gentlemen foresaid were only accompanied with their quiet households, and therefore was the sudden coming of the Archbishop the more fearful. Also the Queen and her Frenchmen had departed from St. Johnestoun, and were lying in Falkland, within twelve miles of St. Andrews; and the town at that time had not given profession of Christ, and therefore could not the Lords be assured of their friendship. Consultation being had, many were of mind that the preaching should be delayed for that day, and especially that John Knox should not preach. The Archbishop affirmed that he would not suffer it, considering that by his commandment the picture of the said John was before burnt.¹

¹ This refers to the sentence of excommunication and outlawry pronounced against Knox by the Bishops in 1557. Knox's opinion of Archbishop Hamilton has been repeated in modern times by Mr. Froude, who describes him as 'the most abandoned of all Episcopal scoundrels'!

He willed, therefore, an honest gentleman, Robert Colville of Cleish, to say to the Lords, 'That in case John Knox presented himself to the preaching-place in his town and principal Church, he should gar (*cause*) him be saluted with a dozen of culverins, WHEREOF THE MOST PART SHOULD LIGHT UPON HIS NOSE!' This was the Bishop's good mind towards John Knox!

After long deliberation, the said John was called, that his own judgment might be had. Many persuasions were made that he should delay for that time, and great terrors given in case he should enterprise such a thing, as it were in contempt of the Archbishop. He answered: 'God is witness that I never preached Christ Jesus in contempt of any man, neither mind I at any time to present myself to that place, having either respect to my own private commodity, or yet to the worldly hurt of any creature. But to delay to preach on the morrow, unless the body be violently withholden, I cannot of conscience. In this Town and Church began God first to call me to the dignity of a preacher, from which I was reft by the tyranny of France, and by procurement of the Bishops, as ye all know. How long I continued prisoner, what torment I sustained in the galleys, and what were the sobs of my heart, is now no time to recite. This only I cannot conceal, which more than one have heard me say, when the body was far absent from Scotland. that my assured hope was, in open audience, to preach in St. Andrews before I departed this life. Therefore, My Lords, seeing that God, above the expectation of many, hath brought the body to the same place where first I was called to the office of a preacher, and from which most unjustly I was removed, I beseech Your Honours not to stop me to present myself unto my brethren. As for the fear of danger that may come to me, let no man be solicitous. My life is in the custody of Him whose glory I seek. Therefore I cannot so fear their boast or tyranny, that I will cease from doing my duty, when of His mercy He offereth me the



29. John Knox preaching in St. Andrews, on 11th June 1559. From the picture by Sir David Wilkie, R.A., in the National Gallery, London. (See page 177.)

occasion. I DESIRE THE HAND OR WEAPON OF NO MAN TO DEFEND ME. ONLY DO I CRAVE AUDIENCE. WHICH, IF IT BE DENIED HERE UNTO ME AT THIS TIME, I MUST SEEK FURTHER WHERE I MAY HAVE IT.¹

At these his words, the Lords were fully content that he should occupy the place. This he did upon Sunday, the 11th of June 1559, and did entreat of the ejection of the buyers and the sellers furth of the Temple of Jerusalem. He so applied the corruption that was there to the corruption that is in the Papistry, and Christ's fact, to the duty of those to whom God giveth power and zeal thereto, that as well the Magistrates, the Provost and Bailies, as the commonalty for the most part within the town, did agree to remove all monuments of idolatry, which also they did with expedition.²

The Archbishop,³ advertised hereof, departed that same day to the Queen, who lay, with her Frenchmen, in Falkland. The hot fury of the Archbishop did so kindle St. Andrews her choler—and yet the love was very cold to be besieged. betwixt them—that without farther delay, conclusion was

¹ The parallel scarcely needs to be pointed out between Knox at St. Andrews disregarding the Archbishop's threats of personal violence, and Luther's famous resolution to go forward, when urged not to obey the summons to attend the Diet at Worms. In both cases, the Reformation struggle had reached a crisis, when failure of moral courage or of faith on the part of the Protestant champion might have thrown back the whole movement for years.

² 'As the Archbishop's boast did little affray me, so did it more incense and inflame with courage the hearts of the godly, who with one voice proclaimed that Christ Jesus should be preached in despite of Satan. So that Sabbath, and three days after, I did occupy the public place in the midst of the Doctors, who to this day are dumb, even as dumb as their idols, which were burnt in their presence. The Bishop departed to the Queen, frustrate of his intent; for he had promised to bring me to her either living or dead.' —*Knox to Mrs. Anna Locke*, 23rd June 1559.

³ In the picture on the opposite page, Sir David Wilkie, with an artist's licence, represents John Hamilton, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, as present at the sermon, in consultation with the Abbot of Crossraguel, and with a soldier ready with his culverin to shoot at the preacher's nose! (See page 175.) It will be noticed that the Admirable Crichton, in student's cap and gown, has his hand on his sword and his eye on the group. The other Archbishop (Glasgow) seems impressed with the Reformer's vehement eloquence.

taken to invade St. Andrews, and the two young Lords, the Earl of Argyle and Lord James Stewart, who were there very slenderly accompanied. Posts were sent from the Queen with all diligence to Cupar, six miles from St. Andrews, to prepare lodgings and victuals for the Queen and her Frenchmen. Which thing understood, counsel was given to the Lords to march forward, and to prevent them before they came to Cupar. This they did, giving advertisement to all brethren with possible expedition to repair towards them. When at night the Lords came to Cupar, they were not a hundred horse, and some few footmen, whom the Lord James brought from the coast. Yet before the next day at twelve hours, which was Tuesday, the 13th of June, their number passed three thousand men, who by God's Providence came unto the Lords. From Lothian there were the Lairds of Ormiston, Calder, Halton, Restalrig, and Colstoun, who, albeit they understood at their departing from their own houses no such trouble, yet were they by their good counsel very comfortable (*comforting*) that day. The Lord Ruthven came from St. Johnestoun, with some horsemen. The Earl of Rothies, Sheriff of Fife, came with an honest company. The towns of Dundee and St. Andrews declared themselves both stout and faithful. Cupar, because it stood in greatest danger, assisted with their whole force. Finally, God did so multiply our number, that it appeared as if men had rained from the clouds!¹

The Lord Lyndsay and Patrick Hepburn, Laird of Wauchton, earnestly requested us to concord, and that we would not be the occasion that innocent blood should be shed. We answered: 'Neither have we quarrel against any man, neither yet seek

The Reformers
seek no man's
blood.

¹ 'The Nobility doth wholly join together in matters of religion, few or none excepted; and now a great number of them at St. Andrews, holding a Council, by common consent, have to proceed in this matter, being fully bent to set for God's Word, wherein if they be letted (*hindered*) they mean to make resistance, as well assured I am, that in this godly proceeding they look for the Queen's Majesty's [Queen Elizabeth's] assistance.'—*Sir James Crofts to Sir William Cecil*, 14th June 1559.

we any man's blood. Only we are convened for defence of our own lives unjustly sought by others.' We added further: 'If ye can find the means that we and our brethren may be free from the tyranny devised against us, ye shall reasonably desire nothing which shall be denied on our part.' . . .

The town of Dundee, bearing no good favour to Patrick Hepburn, the Commendator of the Monastery of Scone and Bishop of Moray¹—for by his counsel alone was Walter Myln our brother put to death—they marched forward to Scone. To stay them was sent unto them John Knox; but before his coming, they were entered to the pulling down of the idols and dorture (*dormitory*). Albeit the said John did what in him lay to stay the fury of the multitude, yet was he not able to put order universally. Therefore they sent for the Lords, the Earl of Argyle and the Lord James, who, coming with all diligence, laboured to save the Palace and the Kirk. But because the multitude had found, buried in the Kirk, a great number of idols, hid of purpose to have preserved them to a better day, as the Papists speak, the towns of Dundee and St. Johnstoun could not be satisfied till the whole ornaments, as they termed them, of the Church were destroyed. Yet did the Lords so travail, that they saved the Bishop's Palace, with the Church and Place, for that night; for the two Lords did not depart till they brought away with them the whole number of those that most sought the Bishop's displeasure.

Knox endeavours to save the Abbey and Palace of Scone.

The Bishop's girnell (*granary*) was kept the first night by the labours of John Knox, who, by exhortation, removed such

¹ This Bishop was even more notorious for profligacy than Cardinal Beaton. The Great Seal Register of Scotland contains Letters of Legitimation in favour of ten different illegitimate children of Bishop Hepburn, which were granted in 1533 (two sons), 1545 (five sons), 1550 (two daughters), and 1587 (a daughter). The children were evidently by different mothers. His nephew, James, Earl of Bothwell, Queen Mary's third husband, was brought up by him. Bothwell's considerable culture, and his brutal profligacy, are both traced by George Buchanan, in the *Detectio*, to his early training at Spynie Castle, near Elgin.

as violently would have made irruption. That same night departed from St. Johnestoun the Earl of Argyle and the Lord James.

The morrow following, some of the poor, in hope of spoil, passed up to the Abbey of Scone. Thereat the Bishop's servants, offended, began to threaten and speak proudly: and, as it was constantly affirmed, one of the Bishop's sons stogged (*stuck*) through with a rapier one of Dundee, because he was looking in at the granary door. This bruit noised abroad, the town of Dundee was more enraged than before. The multitude, easily inflamed, gave the alarm, and so was that Abbey and Palace appointed to sackage. In doing this they took no long deliberation, but committed the whole to the amercement of fire; whereat no small number of us were offended, so that patiently we could not speak to any that were of Dundee or St. Johnestoun.

Assuredly, if the labours of any man could have saved that place, it had not been at that time destroyed; for men of greatest estimation laboured with all diligence for the safety of it.¹

* * * * *

¹ 'Men blame Knox for pulling down cathedrals, and so forth, as if he were a seditious, rioting demagogue. Precisely the reverse is seen to be the fact, if we examine. Knox wanted no pulling down of stone edifices; he wanted leprosy and darkness to be thrown out of the lives of men. Tumult was not his element; it was the tragic feature of his life that he was forced to dwell so much in that.'—THOMAS CARLYLE in *Heroes and Hero-Worship*. The accuracy of Carlyle's statement is proved by the order issued by the Earl of Argyle, Lord Ruthven, and Lord James Stewart to the magistrates of Glasgow in 1560:—'We pray you will fail not to pass to your Kirks in Glasgow, and take down the whole images thereof, and bring them forth to the Kirkyards and burn them openly. Likewise, cast down the altars and purify the Kirks of all kinds of monuments of idolatry. But take great care that neither the desks, windows, nor doors be hurt or broken, and that the glass or iron-work be not injured. This fail not to do as you value our displeasure; and so we commit you to the protection of God.'

'This riotous insurrection was not the effect of any concert or previous deliberation. Censured by the reformed preachers, and publicly condemned by persons of most power and credit with the party, it must be regarded merely as an accidental eruption of popular rage.'—Principal ROBERTSON'S *History of Scotland*, Book ii. p. 376.

The Queen Regent, perceiving that her craft could not prevail, was content that the Duke's Grace and the Earl of Huntly, with others by her appointed, should convene at Preston, to commune with the said Earl of Argyle, and Prior of St. Andrews, Lord James Stewart, and such others as the Lords of the Congregation would appoint, to the number of one hundred, of which number eight only should meet for conference. The principals for their party were the Duke, the Earl Huntly, the Lords Erskine and Somerville, Master Gavin Hamilton, and Sir John Bellenden of Auchinoul, the Justice-Clerk. From us were directed the Earls of Argyle and Glencairn, the Lords Ruthven, Lord James, Boyd, and Ochiltree, the Laids Dun and Pittarrow, who, convening at Preston, spoke the whole day without any certain conclusion. This was the practice of the Queen, by drift of time to weary our company—who, for the most part, had been upon the fields from the tenth day of May—that, we being dispersed, she might come to her own purpose.

The Queen Regent, in all these conventions, seemed as if she would give liberty to religion, provided, 'That wheresoever I am, your Preachers shall cease, and the Mass shall be maintained.' We, perceiving her malicious craft, answered: 'That as we will compel your Grace to no religion, so can we not of conscience, for the pleasure of any earthly creature, put silence to God's true messengers. Neither can we suffer that the right administration of Christ's true Sacraments should give place to manifest idolatry; for in so doing, we shall declare ourselves enemies to God, to Christ Jesus His Son, to His eternal verity, and to the liberty and establishment of His Church within this Realm. Your request being granted, there can be no Kirk within the same established but at your pleasure; and, by your remaining there, ye might overthrow the same.' This our last answer we sent unto her with the Lord Ruthven and the Laird of Pittarrow; requiring

The Queen
Regent's
ambiguity.

of Her Grace in plain words, to signify unto us what hope we might have of her favour toward the outsetting of religion. We also required that she would remove her Frenchmen, who were a fear to us and a burthen most grievous to our country; and that she would promise to us, on the word of a Prince, that she would procure no more to be sent in.¹ Then should we not only, to the uttermost of our powers, furnish ships and victuals for their transporting, but also, upon our honours, should we take her body into our protection; and should promise, in the presence of God and the whole Reahn, to serve our Sovereign, her Daughter, and Her Grace Regent, as faithfully and as obediently as ever we did Kings within Scotland.

To no point would she answer directly; but in all things she was so general and so ambiguous, that her craft appeared to all men.

For the comfort of the Brethren, and continuance of the Kirk in Edinburgh, was left there our dear brother John Willock, who, for his faithful labours and bold courage in that battle, deserveth immortal praise. For when it was found dangerous that John Knox, who before [on 7th July 1559] was elected minister to that church, should continue there, the Brethren requested the said John Willock to abide with them, lest that, for lack of ministers, idolatry should be erected up again. To the which he so gladly consented, that it might evidently appear, that he preferred the comfort of his Brethren, and the continuance of the church there, to his own life. One part of the Frenchmen was appointed to lie in garrison at Leith—that was the first benefit they got for their confederacy with them—the other part was appointed to lie in the Canongate; the Queen and her train abiding in the Abbey. Our brother John

¹ 'Knox was the person who, above all others, baffled the French conspiracy, and saved Queen Elizabeth and the Reformation.'—FROUDE'S *History of England*, vol. vii, p. 105.

Willock, the day after our departure, preached in St. Giles Kirk, and fervently exhorted the Brethren to stand constant in the Truth which they had professed. At this and some other sermons were the Duke and divers others of the Queen's faction. This liberty and preaching, with resort of all people thereto, did highly offend the Queen and the other Papists. First, they began to give terrors to the Duke; affirming, that he would be reputed as one of the Congregation, if he gave his presence to the sermons. Thereafter they began to require that Mass should be set up again in St. Giles Kirk, and the people should be set at liberty to choose what religion they would; for that — say they — was contained in the Appointment, that the town of Edinburgh should choose what religion they list. For obtaining hereof were sent to the Tolbooth the Duke, the Earl of Huntly, and the Lord Seton, to solicit all men to condescend to the Queen's mind. Therein the two last did labour that they could; the Duke not so, but as a beholder, of whom the Brethren had good esperance.

After many persuasions and threatenings made by the said Earl and Lord, the Brethren, stoutly and valiantly in the Lord Jesus, gainsaid their most unjust petitions, reasoning: 'That as of conscience they might not suffer idolatry to be erected where Christ Jesus was truly preached, so could not the Queen nor they require any such thing, unless she and they would plainly violate their faith and the chief article of the Appointment; for it is plainly appointed, That no member of the Congregation shall be molested in any thing that, at the day of the Appointment, he peaceably possessed. But so it was that we, the Brethren and Protestants of the town of Edinburgh, with our ministers, the day of the Appointment, did peaceably possess St. Giles Kirk, appointed for us for preaching of Christ's true Evangel, and right administration of His Holy Sacraments. Therefore, without manifest violation of the Appointment, ye cannot

remove us therefrom, until a Parliament have decided this controversy.'

This answer given, the whole Brethren departed and left the foresaid Earl, and Lord Seton, then Provost of Edinburgh, still in the Tolbooth. They, perceiving that they could not prevail in that matter, began to entreat that they would be quiet, and that they would so far condescend to the Queen's pleasure, as that they would choose them another kirk within the town, or at the least be contented that Mass should be said either before or after their sermons. To the which, answer was given: 'That to give place to the Devil, who was the chief inventor of the Mass, for the pleasure of any creature, they could not. They were in possession of that kirk, which they could not abandon; neither could they suffer idolatry to be erected in the same, unless by violence they should be constrained so to do; and then they were determined to seek the next remedy.' Which answer received, the Earl of Huntly did lovingly entreat them to quietness; faithfully promising that in no sort they should be molested, so that they would be quiet and make no farther uproar. To the which they were most willing; for they sought only to serve God, as He had commanded, and to keep their possession, according to the Appointment; which by God's grace they did till the month of November, notwithstanding the great boasting of the enemy. For they did not only convene to the preaching, daily supplications, and administration of Baptism, but also the Lord's Table was ministered, even in the eyes of the very enemy, to the great comfort of many afflicted consciences. And as God did potently work with His true Minister, and with His troubled Kirk, so did not the Devil cease to inflame the malice of the Queen, and of the Papists with her. Shortly after her coming to the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, she caused Mass to be said first in her own Chapel, and after in the Abbey, where the altars before were casten down. She discharged the Common Prayers,

and forbade to give any portion (*salary*) to such as were the principal young men who read them. Her malice extended in like manner to Cambuskenneth, for there she discharged the portions of as many of the Canons as had forsaken Papistry. She gave command and inhibition, that the Abbot of Lindores should not be answered of any part of his living in the North, because he had submitted himself to the Congregation, and had put some reformation to his place.

By the consent and procurement of the Queen Regent were the preaching-stools broken in the Kirk of Leith, and idolatry was erected in the same, where it was before suppressed. Her French Captains, with their soldiers in great companies, in time of preaching and prayers, resorted to St. Giles

Conduct of
the French
soldiery in
St. Giles.

Kirk in Edinburgh, and made their common deambulator (*walk*) therein, with such loud talking as no perfect audience could be had. The minister was therethrough oftentimes compelled to cry out on them, praying God to rid us of such locusts. They nevertheless continued still in their wicked purpose, devised and ordained by the Queen, to have drawn our brethren of Edinburgh and them into cummer (*trouble*); so that she might have had a colourable occasion to have broken the League with them. Yet, by God's grace, our brethren behaved themselves so that she could find no fault with them; albeit in all the things before named, she is worthily reckoned to have contravened the said Appointment.

We pass over the oppressing of our brethren in particular, which had been sufficient to have proven the Appointment to have been plain violated; for the Lord Seton, without any occasion offered him, broke a chase upon Alexander Whitelaw, as he came from Preston, accompanied with William Knox

Whitelaw,
taken for Knox,
is chased by
Lord Seton.

[brother of John Knox, afterwards minister of Cockpen], towards Edinburgh, and ceased not to pursue him till he came to the town of Ormiston. This he did, supposing

Alexander Whitelaw had been John Knox.¹ In all this time, and while more Frenchmen arrived, they are not able to prove that we broke the Appointment in any jot, except that an horned cap was taken off a proud priest's head, and cut in four quarters, because he said he would wear it in despite of the Congregation. . . .

The greatest part of the Nobility, and many of the people, were so enchanted by the treasonable solicitors of the Queen

The proposed division of Scotland among the French.	Regent, that they could not hear nor credit the truth plainly spoken. The French then, after the arrival of their new bands of men of war, to the number of a thousand men, began
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to brag. They began to divide the lands and lordships according to their own fantasies. One was styled Monsieur de Argyle; another Monsieur le Prieur; the third, Monsieur de Ruthven. Yea, they were so assured, in their own opinion, to possess whatsoever they list, that some asked for the rentals and revenues of divers men's lands, to the end that they might choose the best!

At Stirling, on Wednesday, which was the 8th of November 1559, John Knox preached and entreated the
Knox's Sermon
on 8th Novem-
ber 1559.
4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th versicles of the Fourscore Psalm, in presence of my Lord Duke and of the whole Council.

In the Sermon he did vehemently exhort all men to

¹ This was not the only plot devised against Knox's life. 'It was John Knox's custom to sit at table, in his own house, at the head of it, with his back to the window. Yet, upon a certain night, he sat at a side of the table, when a bullet was shot in at the window, of purpose to kill him. But the conspirators missed, and the bullet lighted upon the chandler (*candlestick*), and made a hole in the foot of it, which is yet to be seen.'—CALDERWOOD'S *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 242.

'Say to Master George' [Knox's brother-in-law, afterwards Sir George Bowes, English Ambassador] 'that I have need of a good and an assured horse; for great watch is laid for my apprehension, and large money promised to any that shall kill me. I write with sleeping eyes. In twenty-four hours I have not four free to natural rest and ease of this wicked carcase.'—*Knox to Gregory Ruliton*, 23rd October 1559.

amendment of life, to prayers, and to the works of charity; and the minds of men began wondrously to be erected.¹ Immediately after dinner, the Lords passed to the Council, unto which John Knox was called to make invocation of the name of God, for other preachers were none with us at that time. In the end it was concluded that William Maitland of Lethington should pass to London to expone our estate and condition to the Queen of England and her Council, and that the Noblemen should depart to their quiet, to the sixteenth day of December, which time was appointed to the next Convention in Stirling, as in this our Third Book following shall be more amply declared.

Look upon us, O Lord, in the multitude of Thy mercies; for we are brought even to the deep of the dungeon.

¹ On 6th November 1559, Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote to Sir William Cecil: 'God keep us from such a visitation as Knox has attempted in Scotland!' The 'visitation,' however, resulted within less than a year in the abolition by the Scottish Parliament of the jurisdiction of the Pope in Scotland, and the ratification of the Confession of Faith, notwithstanding the opposition of the Crown, of the Ancient Church by law established, and of a large and powerful section of the nobility. No wonder Calvin wrote to Knox on 8th November 1559: 'As we wonder at success incredible in so short a time, so also we give great thanks to God.' Here is Knox's own account of the 'visitation,' written on 2nd September 1559, to Mrs. Anna Locke:—'We do nothing but go about Jericho, blowing with trumpets, as God giveth strength, hoping victory by His power alone. Christ Jesus is preached even in Edinburgh, and His Blessed Sacraments rightly ministered in all congregations where the ministry is established. They be these—Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Dundee, St. Johnstoun (*Perth*), Brechin, Montrose, Stirling, Ayr. And now Christ Jesus is begun to be preached upon the South Borders, next unto you, in Jedburgh and Kelso. So that the trumpet soundeth over all, blessed be our God!'

BOOK III

1559-1561

*From the defeat of the Protestants on 6th November 1559,
to the return of Lord James Stewart from France in
May 1561.*

THE THIRD BOOK of the
Progress of True Religion with-
in the Realm of Scotland.

Part of Letter from John Knox to Queen Elizabeth, dated in 1561. A reduced facsimile of the original will be found on page 206. The spelling is here modernised.

‘Grace from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, with perpetual increase of His Holy Spirit.

‘May it please Your Majesty that it is here certainly spoken that the Queen of Scotland [Queen Mary] travailleth earnestly to have a treatise entitled “The First Blast of the Trumpet” confuted by the censure of the learned in divers realms, and farther that she laboureth to inflame the hearts of Princes against the writer. And because that it may appear that Your Majesty hath interest, that she mindeth to travail with Your Grace, Your Grace’s [Privy] Council. and learned men, for judgment against such a common enemy to women and to their regiment (*rule*). It were but foolishness to me to prescribe unto Your Majesty what is to be done in anything, but especially in such things as men suppose do touch myself. But of one thing I think myself assured; and therefore I dare not conceal it. To wit, that neither doth Our Sovereign so greatly fear her own estate by reason of that book, neither yet doth she so unfeignedly favour the tranquillity of Your Majesty’s reign and realm, that she would take so great and earnest pains, unless that her crafty counsel in so doing shot at a farther mark. Two years ago I wrote unto Your Majesty my full declaration touching that work. Experience since hath shown that I am not desirous of innovations, so that Christ Jesus be not in His Members openly trodden under the feet of the ungodly. With further purgation I will not trouble Your Majesty for the present,’ etc.

CHAPTER I

FROM THE DEFEAT OF THE PROTESTANTS AT RESTALRIG
ON 6TH NOVEMBER 1559, TO THE STRANGE EPISODE OF
THE FRENCH CAPTAIN AND THE WIDOW'S
BEEF-TUB, IN JANUARY 1560.

AFTER our dolorous departing from Edinburgh¹ [on 6th November 1559], the fury and the rage of the French increased; and neither man nor woman that professed Christ Jesus within that town durst be seen. The houses of the most honest men were given by the Queen to Frenchmen for a part of their reward. The Earl Bothwell, by sound of trumpet, proclaimed the Earl of Arran [eldest son of the Duke of Chatelherault] traitor, with other despitiful words: all which was done for the pleasure and by the suggestion of the Queen Regent, who then thought the battle was won without further resistance.²

Departure of
the Protes-
tants from
Edinburgh,
1559.

Great practising made the Queen Regent for obtaining the Castle of Edinburgh. The French made their faggots, with other preparations, to assault the Castle by force, or by

¹ Sadler writes that the Protestants left Edinburgh 'between one and two o'clock in the morning,' and adds:—'The Queen Dowager and her French be now in Edinburgh in great triumph, the most part of the substantial men of the same being fled out of the town, with their whole families.'

² 'Upon Thursday last, 9th November, the Earl of Arran received a cartel of defiance from the Earl of Bothwell, requiring of him the combat. The copy thereof, and answer to the same, I will bring with me.'—*Thomas Randolph to Sir Ralph Sadler*. The Earl of Arran received the command of the Royal Scottish bodyguard in France, at the time his father was made Duke of Chatelherault, on demitting the Regency of Scotland in favour of Mary of Guise, the Queen Dowager. The French King's Scottish guard is now represented by the Royal Scots regiment in the British army.

treason. But God wrought so potently with the Captain, the Lord Erskine, that neither the Queen by flattery, nor the French by treason, prevailed.¹



30. Francis, second Duke of Guise, uncle of Mary, Queen of Scots. From a drawing in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. He was nicknamed 'Balafre' (*slashed*) from a severe wound in his face received at the siege of Boulogne in 1545. (See pages 193, 334.)

¹ Lord Erskine maintained a strict neutrality, and was, in consequence, alternately praised and abused by both parties. 'There is something very gallant' (says Sir Walter Scott) 'in the conduct of this nobleman, who, during such a period, was determined to refuse admittance either to French or English, the two powerful allies of the contending factions.'—*Sadler's Papers*, vol. i. p. 712. Lord Erskine was afterwards Earl of Mar, and Regent of Scotland. His sister, Margaret Erskine, was the mother of the Regent Moray.

Advertisement with all diligence passed to the Duke of Guise, who then, as concerning power to command, was King of France, requiring him to make expedition, A French Invasion. if he desired the full conquest of Scotland.

He delayed no time, but with a new army sent away his brother, Marquis D'Elbœuf, and in his company the Count de Martigues, promising that he himself should follow. But the Righteous God, who in mercy looketh upon the affliction of those that unfeignedly sob unto Him, fought for us by His own outstretched arm. Upon one night on the coast of Holland, were drowned of them eighteen ensigns so that only rested the ship in which were the two principals aforesaid, with their Ladies; who, violently driven back again to Dieppe, were compelled to confess that God fought for the defence of Scotland.¹

From England returned Robert Melville, son of Sir John Melville of Raith, who passed in company to London with the Secretary, William Maitland of Lethington, a little before Christmas, and brought unto us certain Articles to be answered. Whereupon the Nobility convened at Stirling, and returned answer with diligence. Whereof the French advertised, they marched to Linlithgow, spoiled the house of the Duke, and wasted his lands of Kinneill, and thereafter came to Stirling, where they remained certain days. The French took purpose first to assault Fife: for at it was their great indignation. Their purpose was to have taken and fortified the Town and Abbey, with the Castle, of St. Andrews. So they came to Culross, after to Dunfermline, and then to Burntisland, where they began to fortify, but desisted therefrom, and marched to Kinghorn, upon the occasion as followeth.

When certain knowledge came to the Earl of Arran, and

¹ 'We be advertised that Martigues is driven by weather into Denmark: and one thousand Frenchmen lost by tempest in Zealand. So it should seem that God is pleased the French purposes should not so speedily be accomplished as their meaning is.'—*Queen Elizabeth to Duke of Norfolk.*

to Lord James [Stewart], that the French were departed from Stirling, they departed also from St. Andrews, and [on 8th January 1560] began to assemble their forces at Cupar, and send their men of war to Kinghorn, unto whom there resorted divers of the coast side, of mind to resist rather at the beginning than when the French had destroyed a part of their towns. But the Lords had given express commandment that they should hazard nothing until they themselves were present. For that purpose was sent unto them the Lord Ruthven, a man of great experience, and inferior to few in stoutness. In his company was the Earl of Sutherland, sent from the Earl of Huntly, as he alleged, to comfort the Lords in their affliction; but others whispered that his principal commission was unto the Queen Regent. Howsoever it was, he was hurt in the arm by the shot of a hagbut.¹

At Kinghorn our men of war, and the rascal multitude, perceiving certain boats of Frenchmen landing, which came from Leith, purposed to stop their landing. Skirmish at Pettycur. Unadvisedly they rushed down to the Pettycur, and at the sea-coast began the skirmishing. But they never took heed to the enemy that approached by land, till the horsemen charged them upon their backs, and the whole bands came directly in their faces. Thus were they compelled to give back, with the loss of six or seven of their men, and with the taking of some. Amongst these were two that professed Christ Jesus, one named Paul Lambert, a Dutchman, and a French boy, fervent in religion and clean of life, whom, in despite, they hanged over the steeple. Thou shalt revenge, O Lord, in Thine appointed time!

The cause that, in so great a danger, there was so small a loss, next unto the Merciful Providence of God, was the sudden coming of the Lord Ruthven. Even as our men had

¹ 'The Lord of Sutherland, since he was hurt, is become a great enemy of the French.'—*The Earl of Arran and Lord James Stewart to Sir Ralph Sadler*, 4th February 1560.

given back, he and his company came to the head of the brae, and did not only stay the French footmen, but also some of ours broke upon their horsemen, and so repulsed them that they did no further hurt to our footmen. In that rencontre was the Earl of Sutherland shot in the arm, and was carried back to Cupar. The French took Kinghorn and wasted the country about, as well Papists as Protestants; yea, even those that were confederate with them, such as Seafeld, Wemyss, Balmuto, and Balweary, enemies to God and traitors to their country.

The Queen Regent, proud of this victory, burst forth in her blasphemous railing, and said, 'Where is now John Knox his God? My God is now stronger than his—yea, even in Fife!' She posted news to her friends in France that thousands of the heretics were slain, and the rest were fled; and therefore required that some nobleman of her friends would come and take the glory of that victory. Upon that information was Count de Martigues with two ships, and some Captains and horse, directed to come to Scotland; but little to their own advantage, as we shall after hear.

The Lords of the Congregation, offended at the foolishness of the rascal multitude, called to themselves the men of war and remained certain days at Cupar. Unto them repaired John Knox, and in our greatest desperation, he preached unto us a most comfortable sermon. His text was: 'The danger in which the disciples of Christ Jesus stood, when they were in the midst of the sea and Jesus was upon the mountain.' His exhortation was, that we should not faint, but that we should still row against the contrarious blasts, till Jesus Christ should come:—'I am as assuredly persuaded that God shall deliver us from this extreme trouble, as I am assured that this is the Evangel of Jesus Christ that I preach unto you this day. The fourth watch is not yet come. Abide a little! The boat shall be saved; and Peter, who hath left the boat, shall

The Queen
Regent and
Knox.

Knox's most
comfortable
Sermon.

not drown. God grant that ye may acknowledge His hand, after your eyes have seen His deliverance.'

In that sermon he comforted many; yet he offended the Earl of Arran. In his discourse upon the manifold assaults that the Church of God had sustained, he brought for example the multitude of strangers that pursued Jehoshaphat after he had reformed religion. He entreated of the fear of the people, yea, and of the King himself at the first; but, after, he affirmed that Jehoshaphat was stout, and to declare his courage in God, he confronted his people and his soldiers; he came forth in the midst of them; he spake lovingly unto them. He kept not himself enclosed in his chamber, but frequented the multitude, and rejoiced them with his presence and godly comfort. These, and the like sentences, took the said Earl to be spoken in reproach of him, because he kept himself more close and solitary than many men would have wished.

After these things, determination was taken that the Earl of Arran and Lord James Stewart, with the
 Valour of the of Arran and Lord James Stewart, with the
 Earls of Arran men of war and some company of horsemen,
 and Moray. should go to Dysart, and there wait upon the
 French, so that they destroyed not the sea-coast, as they
 intended utterly to have done.

Albeit their company was very small, the Earl and Lord James did so valiantly, that it almost passed credit. Twenty and one days they lay in their clothes; their boots never came off. They had skirmishing almost every day; yea, some days from morn to even. The French were four thousand soldiers, besides their favourers and faction of the country. The Lords were never together five hundred horsemen, with a hundred soldiers. Yet they held the French so busy that, for every horse that was slain to the Congregation,¹ the French lost four soldiers.

¹ 'The Scots have in their camp the preachers Knox and Goodman. They call themselves the Congregation of Christ.'—*Bishop Jewel to Peter Martyr*, 1st December 1559. The noble leaders of the Scots Protestants were commonly described as the Lords of the Congregation.

William Kirkcaldy of Grange, the day after his house was casten down, sent in his defiance to Monsieur d'Oysel, and unto the rest, declaring, 'that unto that hour had he used the French favourably. He had saved their lives, when he might have suffered their throats to have been cut; but seeing they had used him with that rigour, let them not look for the like favours in times to come.' Unto Monsieur



31. The Regent Moray's Heraldic Brass in St. Giles, Edinburgh. (See p. 115.)
The Latin inscription was composed by George Buchanan.

d'Oysel, he said: 'He knew that he would not get him in the skirmishing, because he knew he was but a coward; but it might be that he should quit him a commoun (*encounter him*) either in Scotland or else in France.' The said William Kirkcaldy, and the Master of Lyndsay, escaped many dangers. The Master had his horse slain under him; the said William was almost betrayed in his house at Hallyards.

Yet they never ceased, but night and day they waited upon the French. They laid themselves in a secret place,

with some Gentlemen, before the day, to await upon the French, who used commonly to ish (*issue*) in companies to seek their prey. So came forth one Captain Le Battu with his hundred, and began to spoil. The said Master—now Lord of Lyndsay—and the said William, suffered them, without declaration of themselves or of their company, till they

had them more than a mile from Kinghorn, and then began the horsemen to break. This perceived, the French altogether drew to a place called Glennis House, and made for debate; some took the house, and others defended the close and yard. The hazard appeared very unlikely, for our men had nothing but spears, and were compelled to fight upon their feet. The other were within dykes, and every man had a culverin. The shot was fearful to many, and divers were hurt, amongst whom were Robert Hamilton, and David Kirkcaldy, brother to the said Laird, who both were supposed to have been slain. The said Laird perceiving men to faint, and begin to recoil, said, ‘Fie, let us never live after this day, that we shall recoil for French schybaldis’ (*mean fellows*). And so the Master of Lyndsay and he burst in at the gate, and others followed. The Master struck with his spear at Le Battu, and glancing upon his harness, for fierceness, stammered (*staggered*) almost upon his knees; but recovering suddenly, he fessned (*fixed*) his spear, and bore the Captain backward, who, because he would not be taken, was slain, and fifty of his company with him. They that were in the house, with some others, were saved, and sent to Dundee to be kept.

This mischance to the Frenchmen made them to be more circumspect in straying abroad into the country, and so the poor creatures got some relief. To furnish the French with victuals, was appointed Captain Cullen, with two ships, who travelled betwixt the south shore and Kinghorn for that purpose. For his wages he spoiled Kinghorn, Kirkcaldy, and so much of Dysart as he might. For remedy whereof,

were appointed two ships from Dundee : Andrew Sands, a stout man, and fervent in the cause of religion, was the principal. This same time arrived the Count de Martigues, who, without delay, landed himself, his coffers, and the principal Gentlemen that were with him, at Leith, leaving the rest in the ships till better opportunity. But the said Andrew and his companion, striking sail, and making as they would cast anchor hard beside them, boarded them both, and carried them to Dundee. In them were gotten some horse and much harness, with some other trifles, but of money we heard not.

Hereat the French offended, avowed the destruction of St. Andrews and Dundee, and upon a Monday in the morning, the xxii. day of January [1560], they marched from Dysart, and passed the Water of Leven, England to
the rescue. ever keeping the sea-coast, by reason of their ships and victuals. About twelve hours they espied ships, which were seen that morning by us that were upon the land, but were not known. Monsieur d'Oysel¹ affirmed them to be French ships, and so the soldiers triumphed, shot their volley for salutation, and marched forward to Kincraig, fearing no resistance.

But, short after, the said ships met with Captain Cullen, and seized him and his ships, which made them a little to muse. Suddenly came Master Alexander Wood, who had been upon the Admiral, and assured Monsieur D'Oysel that they were Englishmen, and that they were the fore-riders of a greater number that followed, who were sent for the support of the Congregation. Then might have been seen the

¹ D'Oysel was the French Ambassador who, according to the contemporary historian Bishop Leslie, requested permission from Queen Elizabeth to visit Scotland in 1561. 'So soon he came to London, the Queen of England would not suffer him to pass farther, but caused him return again to France. She affirmed that he and Monsieur Rubie were the principal authors of all the troubles which were in Scotland betwixt the Queen Regent and the Nobility thereof, and that it was to be feared he would do the like in time coming, if he were permitted to pass in their country.'—*History of Scotland* (Bannatyne Club publication of 1830, p. 298).

riding of beards, and might have been heard such despite, as cruel men use to spew forth, when God bridleth their fury. Weariness and the night constrained them to lodge there. They supped scarcely, because their ships were taken, in which were their victuals and ordnance, which they intended to have placed in St. Andrews. They themselves durst not stray abroad to seek; and the Laird of Wemyss' carriage, which likewise was coming with furnishing unto them, was stayed. And therefore, betimes in the morning, they retired towards Kinghorn, and made more expedition in one day in returning, than they did in two in marching forward!¹

The storm which had continued near the space of a month, broke in the very time of their retiring, whereby many thought they should have been stayed, till reasonable company might have been assembled to have foughten them; and for that purpose did William Kirkcaldy cut the Brig of Tullibody. But the French, expert enough in such facts, took down the roof of the Parish Kirk of Tullibody, and made a bridge over the same water called Dovane (*the Black Devon*); and so they escaped and came to Stirling, and syne to Leith. Yet in their returning they

¹ 'The Gentlemen of Fife that be Protestants have taken such pains in this last trouble that all men wonder of their patience. From the 1st of January that the French departed from Stirling till the 24th of the same when they retired, they never came in bed, neither yet did they ever sleep but in their jacks and armour. The principal men are the Master of Lyndsay, the Laids of Lochleven, Bavard, Lundin, Craigiehall, Ramornie, Thomas Scott of Abbotshall. . . . I have great need of a good horse, and therefore I pray you put Master Wickiff in mind. My mother [in-law] wrote that she hath one provided, but knoweth not how to get him conveyed.'—*Knox to Gregory Raiton*, 29th January 1560.

'The Laird of Grange was shot at Lundie, right under the left pap, through the jack, doublet, and sark, and the bullet did stick in one of his ribs. Master Whitelaw hath gotten a fall, by the which he is unable to bear armour. But, God be praised, both their lives be saved. . . . I have written once or twice to Master Bodley' [father of the founder of the Bodleian Library at Oxford] 'but as yet have received no answer.'—*Knox to Mrs. Anna Locke*, 4th February 1560.

lost divers; among whom was one whose miserable end we must rehearse:—

As the French spoiled the country, a captain or soldier—we cannot tell which, but he had a red cloak and a gilt morion (*helmet*)—entered a poor woman's house that dwelt in the Whytside, and began to spoil. The poor woman offered unto him such bread as she had ready prepared. But he, in no wise therewith content, would have the meal and a little salt beef which the poor woman had to sustain her own life, and the lives of her poor children. Neither could tears nor pitiful words mitigate the merciless man, but he would have whatsoever he might carry. The poor woman, perceiving him so bent, and that he stooped down into her tub to take forth such stuff as was within it, first cowped up his heels, so that his head went down! Thereafter—either by herself, or if any other company came to help her—but there he ended his unhappy life, God so punishing his cruel heart, which could not spare a miserable woman in that extremity.

The French
captain and
the widow's
beef-tub.

Let all such soldiers receive such reward, O Lord, seeing that Thon art the revenger of the oppressed!

CHAPTER II

DIGRESSION TO EXPLAIN TO POSTERITY HOW QUEEN ELIZABETH AND THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND AFFORDED COMFORTABLE SUPPORT TO THE SCOTTISH PROTESTANTS.

AND now, from this time forward, frequent mention will be made of the comfortable support that we, in our greatest extremity, received, by God's Providence, from our neighbours in England. Therefore we think it expedient simply to declare by what instruments that matter was first moved, and by what means it came to pass that the Queen and Council of England showed themselves so favourable unto us.

The instruments and means by which English support was obtained.

John Knox had forewarned us, by his letters from Geneva, of all dangers that he foresaw to ensue on our enterprise. So, when he came to Dieppe, mindful of the same, and revolving with himself what remedy God would please to offer, he took the boldness to write to Sir William Cecil, Chief Secretary of State of England, with whom the said John had been before familiarly acquainted, intending thereby to renew acquaintance, and so to open further of his mind.¹

¹ This is Knox's first reference to the great English statesman (one of the greatest—if not the greatest—statesmen England has ever seen) who, in the face of obstacles as formidable as those which Knox overcame, not only achieved for the Reformation in England what Knox accomplished in Scotland, but, at Knox's instance, succeeded in persuading Queen Elizabeth to contribute money and men to assist the Protestant cause in Scotland. The relations between those two supremely great men form an interesting subject of study. They

Shortly thereafter the said John Knox made forward to Scotland by sea, where he landed the third day of May [1559], and had such success as in our Second Book is declared. The said John being in St. Andrews after Cupar Muir, entered in deep discourse with the Laird of Grange: the dangers were evident, but the support was not easy to be seen. After many words, John Knox burst forth as followeth: 'If England would foresee their own commodity; yea, if they did consider the danger wherein they themselves stand, they would not suffer us to perish in this quarrel; for France hath decreed no less the conquest of England than of Scotland.' After long reasoning, it was concluded betwixt them two that support should be craved

had profound respect for and belief in each other's abilities, and in each other's sincere attachment to Protestantism, but Knox freely lectured Cecil on his shortcomings, specially on his 'carnal wisdom and worldly policy,' and on his habit, instead of giving plain answers to plain questions, of 'giving counsel—good and fruitful, we grant—but impossible unto us now to be performed, and showing to us dangers already foreseen'; and Cecil, in his letters to Sadler, Crofts, and Randolph, expressed strong disapproval of some of Knox's sayings and doings, while at the same time instructing the English envoys to keep him fully advised of all Knox's proceedings. For instance, Cecil wrote to Sadler and Crofts, on 3rd November 1559:—'Surely I like not Knox's audacity, which also was well-tamed in your answer. His writings [to Queen Elizabeth] do no good here; and, therefore, I do rather suppress them. *Yet I mean not but that ye should continue in sending of them.*' When, so far as Knox was concerned, the struggle with friend and with foe was nearly over, a month before his death, he sent a touching message to his old ally by the hand of Sir Henry Kylligrew, Elizabeth's envoy. On 6th October 1572, Kylligrew wrote to Cecil (created Lord Burleigh the year before):—'John Knox is now so feeble as scarce can he stand alone, or speak to be heard of any audience. Yet doth he every Sunday cause himself to be carried to a place where a certain number do hear him, and preacheth with the same vehemence and zeal that ever he did. He doth reverence your Lordship much, and willed me once again to send you word, that he thanked God he had obtained at His hands, that the gospel of Jesus Christ is truly and simply preached throughout Scotland, which doth so comfort him as he now desireth to be out of this miserable life. He said further, that it was not along of your Lordship that he was not a great Bishop in England; but that effect grown in Scotland—he being an instrument—doth much more satisfy him. He desired me to make his last commendations most humbly to your Lordship, and withal, that he prayed God to increase His strong Spirit in you.'



Vestra amatissima consanguinea
Elizabetha

'Vestra amatissima consanguinea. Elizabetha Regina.'

32. Queen Elizabeth (the Ermine Portrait). In the collection of the Marquis of Salisbury at Hatfield.

of England.¹ For that purpose the Laird of Grange first wrote to Sir Harry Percy, and after rode from Edinburgh and spake with him [at Berwick]. To him he made so plain demonstration of the danger appearing to England, that he took upon him to write to the Secretary Cecil; who, with expedition, returned answer back again, giving him to understand, that our enterprise altogether misliked not the English Council, albeit that they desired farther resolution of the principal Lords. Which thing understood, it was concluded by some to write unto him plainly our whole purpose.

With this letter from the Lords of the Congregation John Knox wrote two, one to the said Secretary, and one to the Queen's Majesty of England herself.

Knox's
mission to
Berwick.

These letters were directed by Alexander Whitelaw,² a man that oft hath hazarded himself and all

¹ 'As touching the assurance of a perpetual amity to stand between these two Realms [England and Scotland], as no earthly thing is of us more desired than such a joyful connection, so crave we of God that, by His pleasure, we may be those instruments by the which this unnatural debate, which long hath continued between us, may once be composed to the praise of God's glory, and to the comfort of the Faithful in both Realms. Perceiving that France, the Queen Regent here, together with priests and Frenchmen, pretend nothing else but the suppression of Christ's Evangel, the maintenance of idolatry, the ruin of us, and the utter subversion of this poor Realm, we are fully purposed to seek the next remedy to withstand their tyranny, in which matter we heartily and unfeignedly require the faithful counsel at the Queen's [Elizabeth's] and Council's hands for our assistance.'—*Letter* (written by Knox) *from the Lords of the Congregation to Sir William Cecil*, 19th July 1559.

² Although an admirer of Knox, Alexander Whitelaw had a mind of his own. Sir Nicolas Throgmorton, writing to Sir William Cecil from Paris, recommended Whitelaw to Elizabeth's Privy Council as 'the most truly affectionate to England of any Scotsman,' adding, that as Whitelaw was very religious, they should let him see 'as little sin in England' as possible! Sir Nicolas farther says:—'Sanders Whittle is greatly esteemed of John Knox, and he doth also favour him above others. Nevertheless, he is sorry for his book [the First Blast] rashly written.' The correspondence of Sir Nicolas Throgmorton, who was several times sent to Scotland by Queen Elizabeth on special missions, contains much curious information relating to Scotland, particularly in his letters to Elizabeth and to Sir William Cecil, whilst English Ambassador at the Court of France.

Diare from our first thoughts and
 first impressions of the
 good person

[illegible]

that he had for the cause of God, and for his friends in danger for the same cause.

Within a day or two after the departing of the said Alexander, there came a letter from Sir Harry Percy to John Knox, requiring him to meet him at Alnwick the third of August, for such affairs as he would not write, nor yet communicate with any but with the said John himself. While he was preparing himself for the journey—for Secretary Cecil had appointed to have met him at Stamford in Lincolnshire—the Frenchmen furiously came forth of Dunbar, of purpose to have surprised the Lords being in Edinburgh, as in the Second Book before is declared. This stayed the journey of the said John, till God had delivered the innocents from that great danger. Then was he, having in his company Master Robert Hamilton, minister of the Evangel of Jesus Christ, directed from the Lords, with full commission and instructions to expone their whole cause and estate wherein they stood.

Their passage was from Pittenween by sea. They arrived at Holy Island:¹ and, being advertised that Sir Harry Percy was absent from the North, they addressed themselves to Sir James Crofts, then Captain of Berwick, and Warden of the East Marches of England, and they show unto him their credit and commission. He received them gently, and comforted them with his faithful counsel, which was: 'Ye should travel no further, neither yet should ye be seen in public, and that for divers considerations. First, the Queen Regent has her espials in England. Secondly, the Queen of England and the Council that favour your action would that all things should be secret so long as they might. And, last, I think it not expedient, that in such rarity of preachers, ye two be any long time absent from the Lords of the Congregation. Therefore ye shall do best to

¹ Landing at Holy Island, they would ride across the sand when the tide was out, and make their way to the Castle of Berwick unobserved. Knox, having resided two years in Berwick (1549 to 1551), could not have landed at that port without his presence becoming known.

commit to writing your whole mind and credit, and I shall promise you, upon my honour, to have answer at you, and at the Lords again, before ye yourselves can be at London. Where your letters cannot express all things so fully as your presence could, I shall supply the same, not only by my pen, but also by my own presence, to such as will inform the Council sufficiently of all things.'

The said John Knox and Master Robert Hamilton followed his counsel, for it was faithful, and proceeded of love at that time. They tarried with him very secretly, within the Castle of Berwick, two days, in which time returned Alexander Whitelaw foresaid, with Cecil's answer to the Lords, and to John Knox; the tenor of whose letter was this:—

'MAISTER KNOX,—*Non est masculus neque foemina; omnes enim, ut ait Paulus, unum sumus in Christo Jesu. Benedictus vir qui confidit in Domino; et erit Dominus fiducia ejus.*¹

'I have resavit your Letteris, at the same Tyme that I have thoct to have sein your self about Stampfourd. Quhat is now hitherto the Caus of your lett, I know nott. I forbeir to descend to the Bottome of thingis, untill I may conferr with such one as ye ar; and, thairfoire, gif your Chance shalbe heirefter to cum hither, I wishe you furnissed with good Credite, and power to mak good Resolutioun. Althocht my answer to the Lordis of Congregationn be some quhat obscure, yitt, uponn further Understanding, ye sall find the Mater plaine. I neid wishe to you no more Prudence then Goddis Grace, quhairof God send you plentie. And so I end. From Oxford, the 28th Julij 1559.

'Youris as ane Member of the same Body in Christ,

'W. CECILL.'

¹ 'There is neither male nor female; for, as saith Paul, they are all one in Christ Jesus. Blessed is the man who trusteth in the Lord; and the Lord will be his confidence.' This was a veiled but effective retort to the one-sided and extravagant views on the unfitness of women as rulers, contained in Knox's 'First Blast against the Monstrous Regiment of Women.' Cecil's letter is given in the original spelling.

Queen Eliza-
beth's Chief
Secretary of
State to Knox.

Albeit the said John received this letter at Berwick, yet would he answer nothing till he had spoken the Lords, whom he found in Stirling, and unto whom he delivered the answer sent from the Council of England for Alexander



34. Sir William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, Queen Elizabeth's Chief Secretary of State, Knox's most influential ally. By Marc Gheeraedts the Elder, at Hatfield. (See page 202.)

Whitelaw took sickness betwixt Berwick and Edinburgh, and was troubled by the Lord Seton, as in the former Book [page 185] is declared. The answer sent by Master Cecil was so general, that many among us were despaired of any comfort to come from that country; and therefore were determined that

they would request no farther. John Knox laboured in the contrary;¹ but he could prevail no farther, but that he should have licence and liberty to write as he thought best. And so took he upon him to answer for all, in form as follows:—

‘Double impediment I had, Right Worshipful, that I did not visit you according to your expectation. Former, no
 Knox’s Reply. signification of your mind and pleasure was made unto me, for only did Sir Harry Percy will me to come and speak him, which conveniently at that time I could not do, by reason the Frenchmen—which was the second and chief cause of my stay—did then most furiously pursue us, while our company, the Lords and their quiet households excepted, was dispersed; and then dared I not be absent for divers inconvenients. Neither did I think my presence with you greatly necessary, considering that the matter which long I had thirsted was opened and proponed by those after whom it becometh me not to speak. To whom would God ye had sent a more plain and especial answer. For albeit Master Whitelaw, by his credit (*report*), Master Kirkcaldy, by his letter, and I, both by letters, and by that which I had learned from Sir James Crofts, did declare and affirm your good minds towards them and their support; yet could not some of the Council—those, I mean, of greatest experience—be otherwise persuaded, but that this alteration in France had altered your former purpose.

‘It is not unknown to your countrymen what goodwill we three do bear to England. Therefore we heartily desire of you that your favours and good minds may rather appear to the Council by your own writings than by any credit committed to any of us. The case of those gentlemen standeth thus:— Unless money be furnished without delay to pay their soldiers with, who in number are now by five hundred, for their

¹ ‘The result of Knox’s previous communications was very important, having led to the resolution of the English Council to support the Protestants in Scotland in their contest with the Queen Regent, but with so much secrecy as might not infringe the treaty of peace between the two kingdoms.’

—Dr. LAING’S *Note*.

service bypast, and to retain another thousand footmen, with three hundred horsemen for a time, they will be compelled every man to seek the next way for his own safety. I am assured, as flesh may be of flesh, that some of them will take a very hard life before they compone either with the Queen Regent, either yet with France. But this I dare not promise of all, unless in you they see a greater forwardness to their support. To support us may appear excessive, and to break promise with France may appear dangerous. But, Sir, I hope ye consider that our destruction were your greatest loss; and that when France shall be our full masters—which God avert!—they will be but slender friends to you. I heard Bouttencourt¹ brag in his credit, after he had delivered his menacing letters to the Prior [of St. Andrews, Lord James Stewart], that the King and his Council would spend the Crown of France, unless they had our full obedience. But most assuredly I know that unless by us they thought to make an entrance to you, they would not buy our poverty at that price. They labour to corrupt some of our great men by money, and some of our number are poor, as before I wrote, and cannot serve without support; some they threaten; and against others they have raised up a party in their own country. In this meantime, if ye lie by as neutrals, what will be the end, ye may easily conjecture! Some of the Council, immediately after the sight of your letters, departed, not well appeased. The Earl of Argyle is gone to his country for putting order to the same, and minded shortly to return with his force, if assurance be had of your support.

‘Therefore, Sir, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, I require you to make plain answer, what the Gentlemen here may lippen

¹ The Seigneur de Béthencourt came originally to Scotland as an envoy from the French Court. Writing on 29th July 1559, Sir Nicolas Throgmorton, the English Ambassador at Paris, has this significant passage about Béthencourt’s mission: ‘Butoncourt had in charge to will the Queen Dowager of Scotland to conform herself to the Scots’ proceedings in all things, and to dissemble with them, supposing that to be the best means to work their purposes.’

(*trust*) to, and at what time their support shall be in readiness. How dangerous is the drift of time in such matters, ye are not ignorant. Most humbly desiring you faithfully to travail that Christ Jesus by His Word may assuredly conjoin the hearts of those whom Satan long hath dissevered, I unfeignedly commit you to the protection of the Omnipotent. From St. Andrews, the 15 of August 1559.

‘Yours to command in godliness, JOHN KNOX.’¹

Answer with great expedition was returned to this letter, desiring some men of credit to be sent from the Lords to Berwick, for the receiving of money for the first support, with promise, that if the Lords of the Congregation meant not otherwise than they had written, and if they would enter into league with honest conditions, they should neither lack men nor money to their just cause. Upon this answer, was directed from the Lords to Berwick, Master Henry Balnaves, a man of good credit in both the Realms, who suddenly returned with such a sum of money as served all the public affairs till November next.² But John Cockburn of Ormiston, who had been sent for the second support, and who had received the same, unhappily fell into the hands of the Earl Bothwell, was wounded, taken, and spoiled of a great sum. Upon this mischance followed all the rest of our troubles before rehearsed.

In the Second Book preceding, we have declared how

¹ The above is quoted from the original letter in the State-Paper Office. The letter is inaccurately copied in Knox’s *History*.

² ‘Ye may assure him [William Kirkealdy of Grange] that rather than that Realm [Scotland] should be with a foreign nation and power oppressed and deprived of the ancient liberties thereto belonging, and the Nobility thereof, and specially such as at this present seek to maintain the truth of Christian religion, be expelled, the Authority of England would adventure with power and force to aid that Realm against any such foreign invasion.’ —*Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Percy*, 4th July 1559.

‘I, Sir James Crofts, understand by Knox, that the Scots will require aid of the Queen’s Majesty for the entertainment and wages of 1500 arquebusiers and 300 horsemen, which if they may, then France, as Knox sayeth, shall soon understand their minds.’ —*Crofts to Cecil*, 20th August 1559.

Secretary Lethington was directed to England: but one thing we have passed by. In our greatest dejection, order was taken that the Duke's Grace, the Earl of Glencairn, Lord Boyd, Lord Ochiltree, and their friends, should remain together at Glasgow, for comfort of the country, and for giving of answers, as occasion should require; and that the Earl of Arran, the Lord James, the Earl of Rothes, the Master of Lyndsay, and their adherents, should continue together within Fife for the same causes, that advertisements might go from the one to the other, as need required. In the negotiation of the Secretary Lethington with the Queen and Council of England, in which he travailled with no less wisdom and faithfulness than happy success, many things occurred that required the resolution of the whole Lords.

Thus far we have digressed from the style of our History, to let the posterity that shall follow understand by what instruments God wrought the familiarity and friendship that after we found in England.¹ Now we return to our former History.

¹ It seems no exaggeration to say that on the united action of England and Scotland depended the perpetuation of the Reformation. Cecil thus summed up the European situation:—'The Emperor [Charles v.] is aiming at the sovereignty of Europe, which he cannot obtain without the suppression of the Reformed Religion; and, unless he crushes the English nation, he cannot crush the Reformation'—(Bishop CREIGHTON'S *Age of Elizabeth*, p. 14). Cecil would fain have seen the Reformation running in both countries on the same lines. Randolph, writing to him from Edinburgh on 25th August 1560, discusses this subject:—'I have talked of late with them all, to search their opinions how a uniformity might be had in religion, in both these realms. These seem willing that it so were. Many commodities (*advantages*) are alleged that might ensue thereof. Howbeit I find them so severe in that that they profess, so loth to remit anything of that that they have received, that I see little hope thereof. Howbeit they will not refuse to commune with any learned in our nation to hear their judgments.' Whatever causes of complaint Queen Elizabeth had against Knox, she was well assured of his friendliness to England. For example, on 21st July 1567, Sir Nicolas Throgmorton, her envoy in Edinburgh, wrote to her: 'Master Knox doth in his sermons daily pray for the continuation of amity betwixt England and Scotland, and doth likewise admonish his auditory to eschew their old alliances with France as they would fly from the pots of Egypt, which brought them nothing but sugared poison.'

CHAPTER III

FROM THE EXPULSION OF THE FRENCH FROM FIFE,
TO THE DEATH OF THE QUEEN REGENT ON

10TH JUNE 1560.

THE parts of Fife being set at freedom from the bondage of these bloody worms [the French soldiery], solemn thanks were given in St. Andrews unto God for His mighty deliverance. Short after, the Earl of Arran and Lord James Stewart apprehended the Lairds of Wemyss, Seafield, Balgonie, Durie, and others that assisted the French; but they were set shortly at freedom, upon such conditions as they minded never to keep: for such men have neither faith nor honesty. The English ships daily multiplied, till they were able to keep the whole Firth: whereat the French and Queen Regent, enraged, began to execute their tyranny upon the parts of Lothian that lay nigh to Edinburgh.

Increase of the
English army
and ships.
Rage of the
Queen Regent
and the
French.

In the midst of February 1560 were directed to England, from the Duke's Grace and the Congregation, the Lord James, Lord Ruthven, the Master of Maxwell, the Master of Lyndsay, Master Henry Balnaves, and the Laird of Pittarrow. They with their honest companies and commission, departed by sea, all, except the Master of Maxwell, to Berwick, where there met them the Duke of Norfolk, Lieutenant to the Queen's Majesty of England, and with him a great company of Gentlemen of the North, with some also of the South, having full power to contract with the

Nobility of Scotland, as they did, upon such conditions as in the same Contract are specified.

Short after this Contract, were our pledges (*hostages*) delivered to Master Winter, Admiral of the Navy that came to Scotland—a man of great honesty so far as ever we could espy of him—who were safely conveyed to Newcastle. The English army by land began to assemble towards the Border; whereof the French and Queen Regent being assured, they began to destroy what they could in the towns and country about. The whole victuals they carried to Leith; the mills they broke; the sheep, oxen, and kine, yea, the horses of poor labourers, they made all to serve their tyranny. And finally, they left nothing which the very enemies could have devised, except that they demolished not Gentlemen's houses, and burned not the Town of Edinburgh: in which point God bridled their fury, to let His afflicted understand that He took care for them.

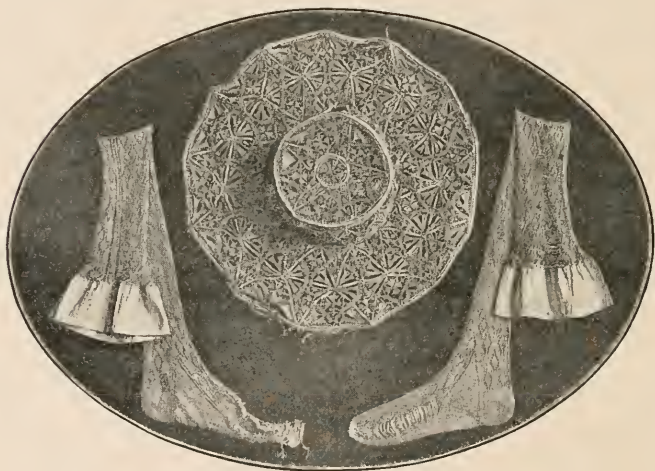
Before the coming of the [English] land army, the French passed to Glasgow, and destroyed the country there about. What tyranny Count de Martigues [the French commander] used upon a poor Scottish soldier, it is fearful to hear, and yet his fact may not be omitted. Silver would they give none to the poor men; and so were they slow to depart out of the town; for, albeit the drum struck, the ensign could not be gotten. There was a poor craftsman, who had bought for his victuals a grey loaf, and was eating a morsel of it, and was putting the rest of it in his bosom. The tyrant came to him, and with the poor caitiff's own whinger first struck him in the breast, and after cast it at him, and so the poor man, staggering and falling, the merciless tyrant ran him through with his rapier, and thereafter commanded him to be hanged over the stair. Lord, Thon wilt yet look, and recompense such tyranny; how contemptible so ever the person was!

The cruelty of
the French
commander.

The second of April, the year of God 1560, the English

army entered Scotland by land. The conducting thereof was committed to the Lord Grey, who had in his company the Lord Scrope, Sir James Crofts, Sir Harry Percy, Sir Francis Lake, with many other Captains and Gentlemen having charge, some of footmen, some of horsemen. The army by land was estimated at ten thousand men. The Queen Regent passed to the Castle of Edinburgh, and some

Arrival of an
English army
to help the
Protestants,
1560.



35. Queen Elizabeth's Summer Hat and Silken Stockings, at Hatfield.

others of her faction. At Preston, near Edinburgh, met them the Duke's Grace, the Earl of Argyle, Lord James, the Earls of Glencairn and Menteith, Lords Ruthven, Boyd, Ochiltree, with all the Protestant Gentlemen of the West of Fife, Angus, and Mearns, so that for few days the army was great.

After the deliberation of two days had at Inveresk, the whole English and Scottish Camp marched forward with ordnance, and all preparation necessary for the Siege of Leith, and came to Restalrig upon the Palm Sunday Even. The French had put themselves in battle array

upon the links without Leith, and had sent forth their skirmishers. These, beginning before ten hours, continued skirmishing till after four hours at afternoon, when there was given upon them a charge by some horsemen of Scotland, and some of England. But because the principal Captain of the horsemen of England was not present, the whole troops durst not charge; and so was not the overthrow and slaughter of the French so great as it once appeared to have been. When the French perceived that the great force of the horsemen stood still, and charged not, they returned and gave some help to their fellows that fled; and so there fell in that defeat only about three hundred Frenchmen. God would not give the victory so suddenly, lest that man should glory in his own strength.¹

Siege of Leith
by the English
and Scotch
Protestants.

This small victory put both the English and Scots in over great security, as the issue declared. The French being enclosed within the town, the English army began to plant their palyeanis (*pavilions, or tents*) betwixt Leith and Restalrig. The ordnance of the Town of Leith, and especially that which lay upon Saint Anthony's Steeple, did them great annoyance. Against that place were bent eight cannons, which shot so continually, and so just, that within few days that Steeple was condemned, and all the ordnance that was on it dismounted. This made the Englishmen somewhat more negligent than it became good men of war to have been; for, perceiving that the French made no pursuit without their walls, they took an opinion that they would never issue more, and that made some of the Captains, for pastime, go up to the town of Edinburgh. The soldiers, for their ease, did lay their armour beside them, and, as men without danger, fell to the dice and cards.

Upon Pasch Monday, at the very hour of noon, the

¹ Lord Gray got the blame. The Duke of Norfolk made this equivocal apology for his colleague:—'Gray is nowise to blame, except it be for that he hath not his wits, and memory faileth him!'

French issued both on horse and foot, and with great violence, entered within the English trenches, and slew and put to flight all that were found therein. The watch was negligently kept, and so was the succour slow and long in coming; so that the French, before any resistance was made, approached hard to the great ordnance. But then the horsemen trooped together, and the footmen got themselves in array, and repulsed the French back again to the town. The slaughter was great—some say it double exceeded that which the French received the first day. This was the fruit of their security and ours, which after was remedied; for the Englishmen, most wisely considering themselves not able to besiege the town round about, devised to make mounds at divers quarters of it, in which they and their ordnance lay in as good strength as they did within the town. The common soldiers kept the trenches, and had these mounds for their safeguard and refuge, in case of any greater pursuit than they were able to sustain. The patience and stout courage of the Englishmen, but principally of the horsemen, is worthy of all praise: for, where was it ever heard that eight thousand should besiege four thousand of the most desperate throat-cutters that were to be found in Europe, and lie so nigh them in daily skirmishing, the space of three months and more? The horsemen night and day kept watch, and did so valiantly behave themselves, that the French got no advantage from that day to the day of the assault, whereof we shall shortly hear.

In this meantime was another Bond to defend the liberty of the Evangel of Christ, made of all the Nobility, Barons, and Gentlemen professing Christ Jesus in Scotland, and of divers others that joined with us, for expelling the French army; among whom the Earl of Huntly¹ was principal.

¹ Lord Huntly subsequently became one of the most powerful opponents of Protestantism. His influence was so great, that Knox in a passage of the Fourth Book, which space has compelled me to omit from this edition, says of him, 'In man's opinion, under a Prince, there was not such a one these

This Contract and Bond came not only to the ears, but also to the sight, of the Queen Dowager; whereat she stormed not a little and said: 'The malediction of God I give unto them that counselled me to persecute the Preachers, and to refuse the petitions of the best part of the true subjects of this realm! It was said to me that the English army could not lie in Scotland ten days; but now they have lain near a month, and are more like to remain than they were the first day they came.'

They that gave such information to the Queen, spake as worldly-wise men, and as things appeared to have been; for the country being almost in all the parts thereof wasted—the victuals next adjacent to Leith having been either brought in to their provision, or else destroyed, and the mills and other places being casten down—it appeared that the Camp could not have been furnished, except it had been by their own ships, and as that could not have been of any long continuance, so should it have been nothing comfortable. But God confounded all worldly wisdom, and made His own benediction as evidently to appear as if in a manner He had fed the army from above. All kind of victuals there was more abundant, and at more easy prices, in the Camp all the time that it lay, after eight days were past, then either there had been in Edinburgh any of the two years before, or yet have been in that town to this day, the 20th of May 1566. The people of Scotland so much abhorred the tyranny of the French,¹ that they would have given the substance that

three hundred years in this reahn produced.' In the same passage there is a graphic description of Huntly's demeanour as he listened to Knox preaching in St. Giles. Knox, in an address to the courtiers, says: 'Have ye not seen one greater than any of you sitting where presently ye sit, pick his nails and pull down his bonnet over his eyes when idolatry, witchcraft, murder, oppression, and such vices were rebuked? Was not his common talk, "when these knaves have railed their fill, then will they hold their peace"? Have ye not heard it affirmed to his own face that God should revenge his blasphemy?'

¹ In the Book of Common Order, there occur 'Prayers used in the Churches of Scotland, in the time of their persecution by the Frenchmen'; and also, 'A thanksgiving unto God after our deliverance from the tyranny of the French-

they had to be rid of that chargeable burden, which our sins had provoked God to lay upon us, in giving us into the hands of a woman, whom our Nobility in their foolishness sold unto strangers, and with her the liberty of the Realm. God for His great mercy's sake, preserve us from yet farther bondage, in which we are like to fall, if He provide not remedy; for our Nobility will remain blind still, and will follow her affections, come after what so may! But to return to our History.

Our camp at Restalrig abounding in all necessary provision, order was taken for confirmation of (*proceeding with*) the

Assault on Leith by the English, 1560.	Siege [of Leith, in May 1560]; and the trenches were drawn as near the town as they might.
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The great Camp was removed from Restalrig to the West side of the Water of Leith; and the cannons were planted for the battery, and did shoot at the South-West Wall. But, by reason all the wall was earth, the breach was not made so great during the day but that it was sufficiently repaired in the night.

Thereof the Englishmen beginning to weary, determined to give the brush and assault; as they did upon the seventh day of May, beginning before the daylight, and continuing till it was near seven hours. Albeit the English and Scots, with great slaughter of the soldiers of both, were repulsed, yet was there never a sharper assault given by so few hands. They exceeded not one thousand men that assaulted the whole two quarters of the town, and yet they damned the whole Block-houses. Yea, they once put the French clean off their walls, and were upon both the West and East Block-houses. But they wanted backing; for their ladders

men, with prayers made for the continuance of peace between the realms of England and Scotland.' The two chief factors in the Scottish Reformation were the influence of the new doctrines, and national hostility to the French. Thus Sadler wrote to Cecil on 8th September 1559:—'The preachers have so won the people to their devotion, that their power is now double that it was in the cause of religion. Such as yet be not fully persuaded thereto, bear such hatred to the Frenchmen, as the whole realm favoureth their party.'

wanted six quarters of the just height; and while some were compelled to fight upon the top of the wall, their fellows could not win (*get*) to support them, and so were they by multitude dung (*thrown*) back again when it was once thought the town was won.

The Queen Regent sat all the time of the assault, which was both terrible and long, upon the fore wall of the Castle of Edinburgh; and when she perceived our overthrow, and that the ensigns of the French were again displayed upon the walls, she gave a guffaw of laughter, and said, 'Now will I go to the Mass and praise God for that which my eyes have seen!'

After that day the greatest damage that either English or Scotch received was the slaughter of two Gentlemen, the one Master of the Household to my Lord James Stewart, Robert Colville of Cleish, a man stout, modest, and wise; who was shot in the thigh with a falcon (*cannon*) or hagbut of crock (*a short musket*), and departed the misery of this life within two hours after. The other was Alexander Lockhart, brother to the Laird of Bar, who, rashly discovering himself in the trenches, was shot in the head, and immediately departed this life.

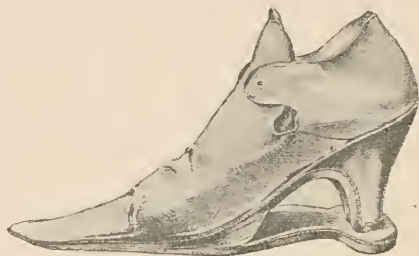
While the siege thus continued, a sudden fire chanced in Leith, which devoured many houses and much victual; and so began God to fight for us, as the Lord Erskine in plain words said to the Queen Regent: 'Madam, seeing that men may not expel unjust possessors furth of this land, God Himself will do it; for yon fire is not kindled by man.' Which words offended the Queen not a little.

The Lord Erskine offends the Queen Regent by his plain words.

The Queen Regent's sickness daily increased, and she travailed earnestly that she might speak with the Earls Argyle, Glencairn and Marischall, and with the Lord James. After deliberation, it was thought expedient that they should speak with her, but not all together, lest some part of the Guisian practice lurked

Death of the Queen Regent, 1560.

under the colour of such friendship. Her regret was unto them all: 'That she had behaved herself so foolishly, that she had compelled them to seek the support of others than their own Sovereign. She sore repented ever it came to that extremity. But she was not the wyte (*blame*), but the wicked counsel of her friends on the one part, and the Earl of Huntly upon the other, for if it had not been for him she would have agreed with them at their communing at



36. The Queen Regent's Shoe.

Preston.' The Earls and the Lord James gave her the counsel and the comfort they could in that extremity, and willed her to send for some godly learned man, of whom she might receive instruction; for these ignorant Papists that were about her, understood nothing of the Mystery of our Redemption. John Willock was sent for, with whom she talked a reasonable space, and who did plainly show unto her, as well the virtue and strength of the Death of Jesus Christ, as the vanity and abomination of that idol the Mass. She did openly confess 'That there was no salvation, but in and by the Death of Jesus Christ.' Of the Mass we heard not her confession. Some said she was anointed in the Papistical manner, which was a sign of small knowledge of the truth, and of less repentance of her former superstition.

Yet, howsoever it was, Christ Jesus got no small victory over such an enemy. For albeit before she had avowed, that

in despite of all Scotland, the Preachers of Jesus Christ should either die or be banished the Realm, yet was she compelled not only to hear that Christ Jesus was preached, and all idolatry openly rebuked, and in many places suppressed, but also she was constrained to hear one of the principal Ministers within the Realm, and to approve of the chief head of our religion, wherein we dissent from all Papists. Short thereafter she finished her unhappy life; unhappy, we say, to Scotland, from the first day she entered into it, unto the day she departed this life, which was the tenth of June, the year of God 1560. God, for His great Mercy's sake, rid us from the rest of the Guisian blood. Amen! Amen! Of the tyranny of the Guisian blood in her [Mary, Queen of Scots], that, for our unthankfulness, now reigneth above us, we have had sufficient experience. But of any virtue that ever was espied in King James the Fifth, whose daughter she is called, to this hour we have never seen any sparkle to appear.

CHAPTER IV

FROM THE CONCLUSION OF PEACE IN JULY 1560, TO THE
ADOPTION OF THE CONFESSION OF FAITH BY THE
SCOTS PARLIAMENT IN AUGUST 1560.

UPON the sixteenth day of June 1560, after the death of the Queen Regent, came into Scotland Charles de la Rochefoucauld, Seigneur de Randan, and with him Monseigneur Jean de Monluc, Bishop of Valence, in commission from France, to entreat of peace. From England there came Sir William Cecil, Chief Secretary, and Doctor Wotton.¹ Their negotiation was longsome; for both England and we, fearing deceit, sought by all means that the Contract should be sure. They, upon the other part, meaning to gratify such as had sent them—who meant nothing but mere falsehood—protracted time to the uttermost; yea, while they of Leith were very scarce of victuals, and they of the Inch had perished, had it not been that by policy they got a ship with victuals and some munition, which was upon Midsummer Even, whereof they made no small triumph; which also for a season stayed the Appointment. Yet in the end peace was concluded.

When peace was proclaimed, sudden provision was made

¹ Wotton, Dean of Canterbury and of York, was much employed as a diplomatist by Henry viii. and Edward vi. He served on nine embassies to the several States of Europe.

for transporting the French to France, of whom the most part were put into the English ships, which also carried with them the whole spoils of Leith. That was the second benefit which they of Leith received of their late promised liberty, the end whereof is not yet come!

The English
and French
depart.

The English army departed by land the sixteenth day of July, the year of God 1560. The most part of our Protestant Nobility honourably convoyed them, as in very deed they had well deserved. The Lord James would not leave the Lord Grey, with the other Noblemen of England, till they entered into Berwick. After whose returning, the Council began to look, as well upon the affairs of the Commonwealth, as upon the matters that might concern the stability of Religion.

A day was statute, when the whole Nobility, and the greatest part of the Congregation assembled in St. Giles Kirk in Edinburgh, where, after sermon, public thanks were given unto God for His merciful deliverance, in form as followeth¹ :—

Thanksgiving
in St. Giles.

‘O Eternal and Everlasting God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath not only commanded us to pray, and promised to hear us, but also willest us to magnify Thy mercies, and to glorify Thy name when Thou showest Thyself pitiful and favourable unto us, especially when Thou deliverest us from desperate dangers,—We ought not, nor can we forget, O Lord, in how miserable estate stood this poor country, and we the just inhabitants of the same, not many days past. Out of these miseries, O Lord, could neither our wit, policy, nor strength deliver us; yea, Thou didst show unto us how vain was the help of man, where Thy blessing giveth not victory.

‘In this our anguish, O Lord, we sobbed unto Thee; we cried for Thy help, as Thy troubled flock, persecuted for Thy truth’s sake. Mercifully hast Thon heard us. Thou hast

¹ No doubt this service was conducted by Knox himself.

looked upon us as pitifully as if we had given unto Thee most perfect obedience; for Thou hast disappointed the counsels of the crafty; Thou hast bridled the rage of the cruel; and Thou hast of Thy mercy set this our perishing Realm at a reasonable liberty. Oh, give us hearts with reverence and fear, to meditate Thy wondrous works late wrought in our eyes. We beseech thee, O Father of Mercies, that as of Thine undeserved grace Thou hast partly removed our darkness, suppressed idolatry, and taken from above our heads the devouring sword of merciless strangers, so it would please Thee to proceed with us in this Thy grace begun. And albeit that in us there is nothing that may move Thy Majesty to show us Thy favour,—yet for Christ Jesus, Thy only well-beloved Son's sake, whose name we bear, and whose doctrine we profess, we beseech Thee never to suffer us to forsake or deny this Thy verity which now we profess.

‘And seeing that nothing is more odious in Thy presence, O Lord, than is ingratitude and violation of a covenant made in Thy name; and seeing that Thou hast made our confederates of England the instruments by whom we are now set at liberty, to whom we in Thy name have promised mutual faith again; let us never fall to that unkindness, O Lord, that either we declare ourselves unthankful to them or profaners of Thy holy name. Confound Thou the counsels of them that go about to break that godly league contracted in Thy name, and retain Thou us so firmly together by the power of Thy Holy Spirit, that Satan have never power to set us again at variance.

‘Give us Thy grace to live in that Christian charity which Thy Son, Our Lord Jesus, has so earnestly commanded to all the members of His body; so that other nations, provoked by our example, may set aside all ungodly war, contention, and strife, and study to live in tranquillity and peace, as becometh the sheep of Thy pasture, and the people that daily look for our final deliverance, by

the coming again of Our Lord Jesus. To whom, with Thee, and the Holy Spirit, be all Honour, Glory, and Praise, now and ever. Amen.’¹

Hereafter were the Commissioners of Burghs, with some of the Nobility and Barons, appointed to see the equal distribution of Ministers. [In July 1560] John Knox was appointed to Edinburgh;² Christopher Good-

¹ Writing to Cecil on 12th February 1562, Randolph describes another of Knox’s prayers:—‘Upon Sunday last Master Knox gave the Cross and the Candle [as then used in the Church of England] such a wipe, that as wise and learned as himself wished him to have held his peace. He recompensed the same with a *marvellous, vehement and piercing prayer*, in the end of his sermon, for the continuance of amity and hearty love with England.’ From his Secretary’s account of his last illness, it appears that Prayers for the Sick were frequently read at Knox’s bedside from the Book of Common Order, although we have no record of any instance in which Knox himself is expressly stated to have used set forms of prayer. But it is clear that he can have had no objection in principle to their use, and that he must have used them. In England, as one of the chaplains of Edward vi., he took part in the revision of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, and when preaching before the King at Windsor, Hampton Court, St. James’ Chapel, and Westminster, as well as when officiating elsewhere as a clergyman of the Church of England, he must necessarily have made use of the English Service-book. Again, in Geneva, he assisted in the preparation of what is called in the Book of Discipline, ‘The Book of our Common Order, called the Order of Geneva,’ which was adopted as the liturgy of the Church of Scotland. On the other hand, it is equally clear that there were parts of the Church of England service to which he strongly objected. Writing to Mrs. Anna Locke from Dieppe, on 6th April 1559, he instanced as ‘diabolical inventions,’ and as ‘dregs of Papistry’—‘Crossing in Baptism, mummelling or singing of the Liturgy, “a fulgure et tempestate; a subitanea et improvisa morte”’; and in another letter to the same lady, on 15th October of the same year, he said, ‘It is not the leaving off of the surplice, neither yet the removing of external monuments of idolatry, that purgeth the Kirk from superstition.’ It is also clear that Knox was opposed to the exclusive use of any liturgy. In the Book of Common Order, the prayers there given are to be used ‘*or like in effect*,’ and before the sermon ‘the Minister prayeth for the assistance of God’s Holy Spirit as the same shall move his heart, using after the sermon this prayer following, *or such like*.’

² At the Reformation the Collegiate Church of St. Giles became the Parish Church of Edinburgh, the Canongate or Holyrood House remaining a distinct charge, as well as the landward parish of St. Cuthberts. At first, John Knox was sole minister of St. Giles, with John Cairns as ‘reader.’ Subsequently, John Craig, a Dominican friar, who made a marvellous escape

man¹ to St. Andrews; Adam Heriot to Aberdeen; Master John Row² to St. Johnestoun; Paul Methven to Jedburgh;

Knox ap-
pointed to
Edinburgh,
1560.

William Christison to Dundee; David Ferguson to Dunfermline; and Master David Lyndsay to Leith. There were nominated for Superintendents,—Master John Spottiswood³

for Lothian; Master John Winram for Fife; Master John Willock for Glasgow; the Laird of Dun for Angus and Mearns; Master John Carswell for Argyle and the Isles.⁴ These were to be elected at the days appointed, unless the countries whereto they were to be appointed could in the meantime find out men more able and sufficient, or else show such causes as might inhabill (*unfit*) them from that dignity.⁵

from the dungeons of the Inquisition in Rome, became Knox's colleague; and Knox was succeeded by James Lawson, Vice-Principal of Aberdeen University, a learned Hebrew scholar.

¹ Goodman was an Englishman, a B.D. of Oxford, and had been Knox's colleague at Geneva. His treatise, published in 1558, 'How far Snperior Powers ought to be obeyed,' brought him into as much disfavour with Queen Elizabeth as Knox had incurred with her through his treatise on 'The Monstrous Regiment of Women.'

² 'Some of our literati, who entertain such a diminntive idea of the taste and learning of these times, might have been taken by snrprise had they been set down at the table of one of our Scottish Reformers, surrounded with a circle of his children and pupils, when the conversation was all carried on in French, and the chapter of the Bible at family worship was read by the boys in French, Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Such, however, was the common practice in the house of John Row.'—M'CRIE'S *Life of Knox*. Row was a Licentiate of Laws in the University of Rome, and a Doctor of Laws in the University of Padua, and was on the high road to great preferment in the Church of Rome. In Rome he came under the favourable notice of Cardinal Sforza, and of Popes Julins III. and Paul IV. He was the first to teach Hebrew in Scotland.

³ Spottiswood was ordained in London by Archbishop Cranmer. His father was killed at Flodden, and his son was the well-known Archbishop Spottiswood of St. Andrews.

⁴ In 1566, Queen Mary presented Carswell to the Bishopric of the Isles, 'adeo libere in omnibus cansis et conditionibus, ac si dictus magister Joannes ad dictum episcopatum in curia Romana provideretur.' In 1567, Carswell translated into Gaelic what is popularly known as *John Knox's Liturgy*.

⁵ 'Upon Sunday next they choose in divers places Superintendents, known and learned men; of those that Your Honour knoweth, Master Willock for

The Parliament [of August 1560] approaching, due advertisement was made by the Council, to all such as by law and ancient custom had or might claim to have vote therein. The assembly was great, notwithstanding that some, as well of them that be called Spiritual as Temporal Lords, contemptuously did absent themselves. Yet the chief pillars of the Papistical Kirk gave their presence, such as John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, William Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, and Robert Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, with others of the inferior sort, besides them that had renounced Papistry, and openly professed Jesus Christ with us; such as Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway, the Abbots of Lindores, Culross, Inch Cohn, Newbattle, and Holyroodhouse, the Priors of St. Andrews, Coldingham, and St. Mary's Isle, the Sub-Prior of St. Andrews, and divers others whom we observed not.

Meeting of
Parliament.
Knox's
Preaching.

At the same time of Parliament, John Knox taught publicly the prophet Haggai. The doctrine was proper for the time; and in application thereof he was so special and so vehement, that some—having greater respect to the world than to God's glory—feeling themselves pricked, said in mockage, 'We must now forget ourselves, and bear the barrow, to build the houses of God!' God be merciful to the speaker! We fear he [William Maitland of Lethington]

Glasgow and that country; for St. Andrews, the Sub-Prior of the same. Master Knox thinketh his state [as Minister of Edinburgh] honourable enough, and will receive no other.'—*Randolph to Cecil*, 5th March 1561. These Presbyterian Superintendents were answerable for all they did to the General Assembly, consisting of the ministers of the Church and an equal number of laymen, and they had no special or exclusive powers, such as of ordination. Knox was certainly opposed to the type of Episcopacy which he found in the Church of England, although he had held office in connection with it, and had been offered a Bishopric. In Scotland, in 1572, he refused to inaugurate Master John Douglas, who had been elected Archbishop of St. Andrews. It may be accurately said that Knox was opposed to Anglican Prelacy, although not to Episcopacy in itself; just as he was opposed to the English Prayer Book, although he had no objection in principle to the use of a liturgy.

shall have experience that the building of his own house—the house of God being despised—shall not be so prosperous, and of such firmity, as we desire it were. And albeit some mocked, yet others were godly moved, who did assemble themselves together to consult what things were to be proponed to that Parliament.¹

The Confession of Faith was read in face of Parliament and ratified by the three Estates of this realm at Edinburgh, the 17th day of August, the year of God 1560 years; it was publicly read, first in audience of the Lords of the Articles, and after in audience of the whole Parliament. There were present not only such as professed Christ Jesus, but also a great number of the adversaries of our religion, such as the fore-named Bishops of St. Andrews, Dunblane, and Dunkeld, and some others of the Temporal Estate, who were commanded in God's name to object, if they could say anything against that doctrine. Some of our ministers were present, standing upon their feet, ready to have answered, in case any would have defended the Papistry, and impugned our affirmatives: but when no objection was made, there was a day appointed for voting on that and other heads. Our Confession was read, every article by itself, over again, as they were written in order, and the votes of every man were required accordingly.

Of the Temporal Estate, only voted in the contrary, the

¹ 'Though divers of the Nobility present are not resolved in religion, yet do they repair daily to the preachings, which giveth a good hope to many that God will bow their hearts. The Bishop of Dunblane is come, yet is not to reason upon religion, but to do, as I hear, whatsoever the Earl of Argyle will command him. If God has prepared him and his Metropolitan [the Archbishop of St. Andrews] to die obstinate Papists, yet I would that, before they go to the Devil, they would show some token that once in their lives they loved their country! The Bishop of Dunkeld remaineth as obstinate as [he is] ignorant. Being moved to hear Master Knox, he gave answer that he would never hear an old condemned heretic! Master Knox hath been with him for it, since that time. Sermons are daily, and great audience.'—*Randolph to Cecil*, 15th August, at 8 of the clock in the morning, 1560.

Earl of Athole, the Lords Somerville and Borthwick; and yet for their dissenting they produced no better reason, but, 'We will believe as our fathers believed.' The Bishops—Papistical we mean—spake nothing.¹ The rest of the whole three Estates, by their public votes, affirmed the doctrine; and many the rather because the Bishops would nor durst say nothing in the contrary; for this was the vote of the Earl Marischall:—'It is long since I have had some favour unto the Truth, and since I have had a suspicion of the Papistical Religion; but, I praise my God, this day has fully resolved me in the one and in the other. For, seeing that my Lords Bishops—who for their learning can, and for the zeal that they should bear to the Verity, would, as I suppose, gainsay anything that directly repugns to the Verity of God—speak nothing in the contrary of the doctrine propoved, I cannot but hold it to be the very Truth of God, and the contrary to be deceivable doctrine. Therefore, so far as in me lieth, I approve the one and damn the other: and I do farther ask of God, that not only I, but also all my posterity, may enjoy the comfort of the doctrine that this day our ears have heard. Yet more, I must vote, as it were by way of protestation, that if any persons ecclesiastical shall after this oppose themselves to this our Confession, they shall have no

¹ This must mean, 'spake nothing against the Confession of Faith,' for it appears from Maitland of Lethington's letter to Sir William Cecil, of date 18th August 1560, that the Bishops were not entirely silent. Maitland says:—'The Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane, and two of the Temporal Lords, did excuse themselves if they were not ready to speak their judgment, for that they were not sufficiently advised with the Book. They did liberally profess that they would agree to all things that might stand with God's Word, and consent to abolish all abuses crept into the Church not agreeable with the Scriptures, whereby they did in a manner confirm our doctrine.' The feebleness of the resistance of the Roman Catholic clergy to the progress of the Reformation has often been remarked. Dr. Laing (*Knox's Works*, vi. 151) explains it on the ground that those among the clergy who were learned and zealous, such as Knox, Row, Rough, Willock, Winram and others, were on the side of the Reformed opinions, while the higher dignitaries, having no strong religious convictions, were content when they had secured for themselves peaceful toleration and two-thirds of their incomes.

place nor credit, considering that they, having long advisement, and full knowledge of this our Confession, none is now found in lawful, free, and quiet Parliament to oppose themselves to that which we profess. Therefore, if any of this generation pretend to do it after this, I protest that he be reputed rather one that loveth his own commodity and the glory of the world than the Truth of God, and the salvation of men's souls.'¹

After the voting and ratification of this our Confession, by the whole body of the Parliament, there were also pro-

¹ 'The pestilent counsel of three or four in this town of Edinburgh seduces many honest men both from good and their country. Master Knox spareth not to tell it them. He and Master Willocks were yesterday before the Lords of the Articles, with the Bishops. St. Andrews desired to have a copy of the Confession of their Faith. It was not denied him to have it shortly; though it be doubted that it be to send it into France [to Queen Mary] before the Lords do send, than that he hath any mind to examine the verity, or reform his conscience, be it never so reasonable. Being but yesterday concluded, it was not possible to send Your Honour a copy thereof so soon.'—*Randolph to Cecil*, 15th August 1560. 'There is already passed the Confession of our Faith by a uniform consent of the whole Lords of Articles, and to be sent to the King and Queen [the King of France and Mary of Scots], whereof within these three or four days I shall send you the copy. The whole estate of the Clergy is on our side, a few excepted of them that be present, as the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishops of Dunblane and Dunkeld. The Religion is like enough to find many favourers of the whole of all Estates.'—*Maitland of Lethington to Cecil*, 15th August 1560.

'The old Lord of Lyndsay, as grave and goodly a man as ever I saw, said:—"I have lived many years. I am the oldest in this company of my sort. Now that it hath pleased God to let me see this day, where so many nobles and others have allowed so worthy a work, I will say with Simeon, *Nunc dimittis*.'"—*Randolph to Cecil*, 19th August 1560. 'The Confession of Faith was committed unto the Laird of Lethington [William Maitland] and the Sub-Prior [John Winram] to be examined. Though they could not reprove the doctrine, yet did they mitigate the austerity of many words and sentences which sounded to proceed rather of some evil-conceived opinion than of any sound judgment. The author of this work [John Knox] had also put a chapter of the obedience or disobedience that subjects owe unto their Magistrates. The surveyors of this work thought it to be an unfit matter to be entreated at this time, and so gave their advice to leave it out.'—*Randolph to Cecil*, 7th September 1560.

nounced two Acts, the one against the Mass and the abuse of the Sacraments,¹ and the other against the Supremacy of the Pope.

¹ Of this intolerant statute, which provided confiscation of goods for the first offence, banishment for the second, and death for the third, Principal Lee wrote, 'This severe statute was never executed, so far as I have been able to learn, and probably it was never intended to be executed in its full extent.' By way of illustration of Principal Lee's statement, take what Randolph wrote to Cecil on 22nd January 1563:—'The venerable Prelate of St. Andrews hath been in this town [Edinburgh]. I thought to have heard when he should have been committed to the Castle for saying and hearing of Mass. He is dismissed in hope of amendment; for such faults with us are seldom punished.' Notice also Knox's statement addressing the Popish Princes who persecuted the Protestants:—'God will not use His saints and chosen children to punish you. With them is always mercy, yea, even although God hath pronounced a curse. He will punish you by such as in whom there is no mercy. The testimony of Leslie, the Catholic Bishop of Ross, is still more emphatic:—'At that time they exiled few Catholics on the score of religion, imprisoned fewer, and put none to death.'—*De rebus gestis Scotorum*. It ought also to be noted that the distinctive principles of the Reformation cannot be justly blamed for such statutes. The views which inspired them were 'rags of Popery' which the Reformers failed to discard. Mary's mother, when Queen Regent, issued a Proclamation threatening death to any one who dared to eat flesh in Lent!

CHAPTER V

FROM THE PREPARATION OF THE BOOK OF DISCIPLINE IN
1560, TO THE RETURN OF LORD JAMES STEWART (THE
EARL OF MORAY) FROM FRANCE IN MAY 1561.

THE Parliament dissolved, consultation was had, how the Kirk might be established in a good and godly policy, which by the Papists was altogether defaced. Commission was given to Master John Winram, Sub-Prior of St. Andrews, Master John Spottiswood, John Willock, Master John Douglas, Rector of St. Andrews, Master John Row, and John Knox, to draw up in a volume the Policy and Discipline of the Kirk, as well as they had done the Doctrine in the Confession of Faith. This they did and presented to the Nobility, who did peruse it many days. Some approved it, and wished the same to have been set forth by a law. Others, perceiving their carnal liberty and worldly commodity somewhat to be impaired thereby, grudged, insomuch that the name of the Book of Discipline became odious to them. All things that were repugnant to their corrupt affections, were termed in their mockage, 'devout imaginations.' The causes we have before declared,—some were licentious; some had greedily gripped to the possessions of the Kirk; and others thought that they would not lack their part of Christ's coat. The chief great man that had professed Christ Jesus, and refused to subscribe the Book of Discipline, was the Lord Erskine [afterwards Earl of Mar, and Regent of Scotland]. No wonder,—he has a very Jezebel to his wife, and besides, if the Poor, the Schools,

and the Ministry of the Kirk had their own, his kitchen would lack two parts and more of that which he now unjustly possesses! There were none within the Realm more unmerciful to the poor ministers than were they which had greatest rents of the Churches. But in that we have perceived the old proverb to be true:—‘Nothing can suffice a wreche’ (*covetous person*); and again, ‘The belly has no ears’!

Yet the Book of Discipline was subscribed by a great part of the Nobility: to wit, the Duke’s Grace, the Earl of Arran, the Earls Argyle, Glencairn, Marischall, Menteith, Morton, Rothes, Lord James, now Earl of Moray; Lords Yester, Boyd, Ochiltree; the Master of Maxwell, Lord Lyndsay, elder, and the Master, now Lord; Barons Drumlanrig, Lochinvar, Garlies, Bargany; Master Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway, Alexander Campbell, Dean of Moray, with a great number more who subscribed and approved the Book of Discipline, in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, the twenty-seventh day of January, the year of God 1560. They signified their approbation in these words:—

‘We quhilk have subscriyvit thir Presentis, havand advisit with the Artickles heirin specifeit, and as is above mentionat, from the begyning of this Book, thinkis the samyn goode, and conforme to Goddis Word in all poyntis, conforme to the Notes and Additiounis thairto eikked. We promittis to sett the same fordwarte at the uttermost of oure Poweris, providing that the Bischoppis, Abbottis, Priouris, and utheris Prelattis and beneficed men, quhilkis ellis have adjoyned thameselfis to us, bruik the Revenewis of thair Benefices during thair Lyfe-tymes, thei susteanyng and upholding the Ministerie and Ministeris, as is heirin specifeit, for preaching of the Worde, and ministrating of the Sacramentis.’

How this promise was eluded from time to time, we will after hear.

Shortly after the said Parliament, there were sent from the Council, as Ambassadors to England, the Earls of Morton

and Glencairn, with William Maitland of Lethington, younger. The chief point of their commission was earnestly to crave the constant assistance of the Queen's Majesty of England, against all foreign invasion and common enemies, and to propose the Earl of Arran, who then was in no small estimation with us, to the Queen of England in marriage.

These cruel and conjured enemies of God, and of all godliness, the Duke of Guise, the Cardinal of Lorraine¹ and their faction, who then at their own appetite played the tyrants in France, had determined the destruction of all that professed the true knowledge of Jesus Christ within that Realm. What tyranny late before they had used at Amboise, the History of France doth witness. Now, in Orleans, in the month of November, convened the King, unhappy Francis [II., husband of Mary, Queen of Scots], the Queen, our Sovereign, and the Queen Mother [Catharine de' Medici], the Duke of Guise, with all his faction, the King of Navarre, and the Prince de Condé his brother. Great was the confluence of the Nobility; but greater was the assembly of the murderers; for there was not a hangman in all France who was not there. The prisons were full of the true servants of God: and the King of Navarre and the Prince

¹ Knox was not singular in his detestation of the Cardinal of Lorraine. Two contemporaries, both Catholics, may be quoted. Writing on 4th December 1560, from Orleans, Michiel Surian, the Venetian Ambassador, says: 'Everybody so detests the Cardinal of Lorraine that if the matter depended upon suffrage, not only would he have no part in the government, but perhaps not be in this world!' The poet Brantôme, who accompanied Mary to Scotland in 1561, pays the Cardinal the following equivocal compliment:—'Quoique mauvais Chrétien, le Cardinal de Lorraine était, pour le temps, très bon Catholique'!! But although of dissolute life, the Cardinal seems to have been sincerely anxious about the good upbringing of his niece, Mary of Scots. He wrote to her mother on 25th February 1553:—'I forgot not to remind her to keep a guard upon her lips; for really some who are in this Court are so bad in this respect that I am very anxious for her to be separated from them by the forming of an establishment of her own.'

his brother were constituted prisoners. The Sheriff of Orleans, a man fearing God, was taken, and so were many others of the town. Briefly, there were none that professed God or godliness within that town, that looked not for the extremity; for the walls and gates were night and day kept with the garrison of the Guisians. Miserable men were daily



37. Catherine de' Medici (mother-in-law of Mary, Queen of Scots), instigator of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 1572. By François Clouet. (See pages 89, 236.)

brought in to suffer judgment, but none were suffered to depart forth but at the devotion of the tyrants.¹

So they proceeded till the tenth or twelfth of December [1560], when they thought time to put their bloody counsel in execution, and for that purpose conclusion was taken that the King should depart of the town, and lie at a certain place. This was done to the intent, that no snit should be made to the King for the safety of any man's life, whom they thought worthy of death. So was the King's House in Orleans broken up, his beds, coffers and tapestry sent away.

¹ The knowledge in Scotland of these persecutions in France gave point to the pungent question which Sir William Cecil addressed to the Lords of the Congregation in the end of July 1559, 'Will they favour you in Scotland, that burn their own daily in France?'

When all things were in this readiness to shed the blood of innocents, the Eternal, our God, who ever watches for the preservation of His own, began to work, and suddenly did put His own work in execution. As the King sat at Mass, his boots put on, ready immediately thereafter to have departed, he was suddenly stricken with an aposthume (*abscess*) in that deaf ear that never would hear the Truth of God. He was carried to a void house, laid upon a palliasse unto such time as a canopy was set up unto him ; where he lay till the fifteenth day of December, in the year of God One thousand five hundred threescore years, when his glory perished and the pride of his stubborn heart vanished in smoke.¹ So was the snare broken ; the tyrants disappointed of their cruelty ; those that were appointed to death raised, as it were out of their graves ; and we, who by our foolishness had made ourselves slaves to strangers, were restored again to freedom and to the liberty of a free realm.

O that we had hearts deeply to consider what are Thy wondrous works, O Lord, that we might praise Thee in the midst of this most obstinate and wicked generation, and leave the memorial of the same to our posterity, which, alas, we fear shall forget these Thy inestimable benefits !

The death of Francis II. made great alteration in France, England and Scotland. France was erected in some esperance, that the tyranny of the Guisians should no longer reign above them, because God at unawares had broken the staff whereupon they leaned. But, alas, they were deceived ; for the simplicity of some was so abused, that against the laws of the Realm, to the Queen Mother [Catharine de' Medici] was committed the regiment ; which lifted up as well the Duke of Guise, as the cruel Cardinal of Lorraine for a season.

¹ On the margin of the 1566 ms., there occurs at this point these words, 'Corrected by Master George.' This, no doubt, refers to George Buchanan, who was in France at the time of the King's death, which occurred on 5th December 1560.

The Queen of England and the Privy Council remitted our Ambassadors with answer, 'That she would not marry hastily, and, therefore, willed the Council of Scotland, and the Earl of Arran, not to depend upon any hope thereof.' What motives she had, we omit.¹

The Earl of Arran proposes marriage to two Queens.

The pride of the Papists of Scotland began to be abated, and some that ever had shown themselves enemies unto us began to think, and plainly to speak—among whom Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudoun, the old Sheriff of Ayr, was one—that they perceived God to fight for us. The Earl of Arran himself did more patiently abide the repulse of the Queen of England, because he was not altogether without hope that the Queen of Scotland bore him some favour.² He wrote unto her, and sent for credit a ring, which the Queen our Sovereign knew well enough. The letter and ring were both presented to the Queen, and of her received. Answer was returned to the Earl, after which he made no farther pursuit in that matter. Yet, not the less, he bare it heavily in heart, more heavily than many would have wished

The certainty of the death [of Francis Second of France, husband of Mary, Queen of Scots] was signified unto us both by sea and land. By sea John Knox, who then had great intelligence both with the Churches abroad, and with some of the Court of France, received letters, that the King was mortally sick, and could not well escape death. Which letters received that same day at afternoon, he passed to

¹ Sir James Melville, Mary's ambassador to the Court of England, was less reticent than Knox. In his *Memoirs*, he tells us that he told Elizabeth to her face:—'I know your stately stomach. Ye think if ye were married, ye would be but Queen of England, and now ye are King and Queen both!'

² There had been talk of marriage between Mary and Arran before this. Writing to Cecil, the English Ambassador in Paris said: 'There is much talk of the Queen's second marriage. Some talk of the Prince of Spain; some of the Duke of Austria, others of the Earl of Arran.' This letter was written a week before the death of Mary's husband, Francis II., who at the time was in feeble health!

the Duke's Grace, to his own lodging at the Kirk of Field in Edinburgh, with whom he found the Lord James in conference—the Earl of Arran was in Jedburgh—to whom he opened such news as he had received, and willed them to be of good comfort. ‘The advertizer,’ said he, ‘hath never yet abused me. It is the same gentleman that first gave us knowledge of the slaughter of Harry, King of France.’ He showed unto them the letter, but would not express the man's name.¹

The Duke, the Lord James and John Knox, were familiarly communing together in divers purposes. John Knox upon the one part was comforting them, and the Duke and the Lord James upon the other part comforting him; for he was in no small heaviness by reason of the late death of his dear bed-fellow, Marjorie Bowes.² While they three were reasoning, there came a messenger to John Knox from the Lord Grey furth of Berwick, with letters, assuring him of the death of the King of France. Which divulged and noised abroad, a general Convention of the whole Nobility was appointed to be holden at Edinburgh the fifteenth day of January following, in which the Book of Discipline was perused newly over again; because some pretended ignorance, by reason they had not heard it.

In that assembly was Master Alexander Anderson, Principal of Aberdeen, a man more subtle and crafty than either learned or godly, called, who refused to dispute of his faith,

¹ The ‘advertizer’ was probably George Buchanan.

² ‘In his “First Blast” Knox said that women are weak, frail, impatient, feeble, and foolish. Yet it does not appear that Knox was himself any less dependent than other men upon the sympathy and affection of these weak, frail, impatient, feeble and foolish creatures! It seems even as if he had been rather more dependent than most.’—ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON in *Men and Books*, p. 364. Writing to Christopher Goodman, on 23rd April 1562, John Calvin said, ‘I am not a little grieved that our brother Knox has been deprived of the most delightful of wives’ (*suavissima uxor*).

abusing a place of Tertullian to cloak his ignorance. It was answered unto him, that Tertullian should not prejudice the authority of the Holy Ghost, who by the mouth of Peter commands us to give reason for our faith to every one that requires the same of us. It was farther answered, that we neither required him nor yet any man to dispute in any

The righte confyte of the same
for salutacy

Dearho beloved brother albeit at the distance of this our brother from
whom I received yo^r loving and friendly ltr. my soul could writ
nothing be reason of the same disposing of my bowe, yet because it
could not suffer him to depart without some remembrance of my devotio
to you I w^{rote} the ltr of my left hand that is of my wif
in scribbling these fewe lines unto you Salute yo^r
wif and daughter together in my nam for good of our
loved Jesus Christ w^{ith} to you ^{now} and our son ever af
ter of my 1560

*your loving brother
John Foxe*

I w^{rite} to the power of god salute you and yo^r wif must
together thank you for the loving tokens of my mother and
the commands from our Lord

38. Reduced facsimile of part of letter to John Foxe from John Knox in the hand-writing of Marjorie Bowes, Knox's first wife, with P.S. by her, beginning, 'I, your sister, the writer hereof, saluteth you and your wife.'

point concerning our faith, which was grounded upon God's Word, and fully expressed within His Holy Scriptures. But we required of him, as of the rest of papists, that they would suffer their doctrine, constitutions, and ceremonies to come to trial; and principally, that the Mass, and the opinion thereof, by them taught unto the people, might be laid to the square-rule of God's Word, and unto the right institution of Jesus Christ, that they might understand whether their

preachers offended or not, in that they affirmed 'The action of the Mass to be expressly repugning unto the Last Supper of the Lord Jesus ; the sayer of it to commit horrible blasphemy, in usurping upon him the office of Christ ; the hearers to commit damnable idolatry, and the opinion of it conceived to be derogation, and as it were disannulling, of Christ's death.' While the said Master Alexander denied that the priest took upon him Christ's office, 'to offer for sin, as it was alleged, a Mass Book was produced, and in the beginning of the Canon were these words read, 'Suscipe, Sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem, quam ego indignus peccator offero tibi vivo Deo et vero, pro peccatis meis, pro peccatis Ecclesiæ vivorum et mortuorum.'¹ 'Now,' said the reasoner, 'if to offer for the sins of the whole Kirk, was not the office of Christ Jesus, yea that office that to him only might, and may appertain, let the Scripture judge. And if a vile knave, whom ye call the priest, proudly takes the same upon him, let your own book witness.' The said Master Alexander answered, 'Christ offered the propitiatory, and that none could do but He ; but we offer the remembrance.' Whereunto it was answered, 'We praise God that ye have denied a sacrifice propitiatory to be in the Mass ; and yet we offer to prove, that in more than one hundred places of your papistical Doctors, this proposition is affirmed, "The Mass is a sacrifice propitiatory." But, to the second part, where ye allege that ye offer Christ in remembrance ; we ask, first, Unto whom ye do offer Him ? Next, By what authority are ye assured of well-doing ? In God the Father there falls no oblivion : and if ye will yet shift and say, that ye offer it not as if God were forgetful, but as willing to apply Christ's merits unto His Kirk ; we demand of you, What power and commandment have ye so to do ? We know that our Master, Christ Jesus, commanded His apostles to do

¹ That is, 'Holy Trinity, accept this offering, which I, unworthy sinner, offer to Thee, the living and true God, for my sins, and for the sins of the whole Church of the living and the dead.'

that which He did "in remembrance of Him"; but plain it is, that Christ took bread, gave thanks, brake bread, and gave it to His disciples, saying, "Take ye, eat ye; this is My body which is broken for you. Do this in remembrance of Me." Here we find a commandment, to take, to eat, to take and to drink; but to offer Christ's body either for remembrance or application, we find not. Therefore, we say, to take upon you an office which is not given unto you is unjust usurpation, and no lawful power.' The said Master Alexander being more than astonished, would have shifted; but then the Lords willed him to answer directly. Whereto he answered, 'That he was better seen in Philosophy, than in Theology.' Then was commanded Master John Leslie—who then was Parson of Une, and now Lord Abbot of Lindores, and after was made Bishop of Ross¹—to answer to the former argument; and he with great gravity began to answer, 'If our Master have nothing to say to it, I have nothing. I know nothing but the Canon Law: and the greatest reason that ever I could find there, is *nolumus et volumus*.' Yet we understand that now he is the only patron of the Mass!

The Nobility hearing that neither the one nor the other would answer directly, said, 'We have been miserably deceived heretofore. If the Mass may not obtain remission of sins to the quick and the dead, wherefore were all the abbeyes so richly doted (*endowed*) with our temporal lands?'

Thus much we thought good to insert here, because some Papists are not ashamed now to affirm, that they with their reasons could never be heard, but that all that we did, we did it by mere force; when the whole realm knows, that we ever required them to speak their judgments freely, not only promising unto them protection and defence, but also that we should subscribe with them, if they by God's Scriptures could confute us, and by the same word establish their

¹ This and the six preceding words have been added on the margin of the 1566 MS. in a different hand, which Dr. Laing thinks he can identify as that of Knox. Further as to Bishop Leslie, see pp. xxvi, 102.

assertions. But who can correct the leasings (*lies*) of such as in all things show themselves the sons of the father of all lies! Preserve us, O Lord, from that perverse and malicious generation! *Amen.*

In that Assembly was the Lord James appointed [on 15th January 1561] to go to France to the Queen our Sovereign; and a Parliament was appointed to begin the 20th of May next following; for at that time was the return of the said Lord James looked for. That Convention was dissolved without any other thing of importance concluded. Lord James prepared him for his journey; for albeit he passed in the public affairs, he sustained the charge of his own expenses; and yet there never passed from this Realm in the company of one man so many, and so honest, through England to France. Before he departed, he was forewarned as well of the danger in France, as of our Queen's craft,—not that we then suspected her nature, but that we understood the malice of her friends. He was plainly premonished, that if ever he condescended that she should have Mass publicly or privately within the Realm of Scotland, then betrayed he the cause of God, and expounded The Religion to the uttermost danger that he could do. That she should have Mass publicly, he affirmed that he should never consent: but to have it secretly in her chamber, who could stop her? The danger was shown; and so he departed.

The Papists and Bishops, disappointed of their principal purpose and enterprise, did yet make broillie (*disturbance*) for trouble. The rascal multitude in Edinburgh were stirred up to make the games of Robin Hood, which enormity was condemned by an Act of Parliament [in 1555]. They would not be forbidden, but would disobey and trouble the Town, especially in the night. Whereat the Bailies, offended, took from them some swords and an ensign. That same night they made a mutiny, kept the ports of the town, and intended to have

Lord James
Stewart sent
to France by
the Conven-
tion of the
Nobility, 1561.

Robin Hood
riots in Edin-
burgh, 1561.

pursued some men within their own houses. But, upon the restitution of their swords and ensign, that was stayed. Yet they ceased not to molest, as well the inhabitants of Edinburgh as divers countrymen, taking from them money, and threatening some with farther injuries. The Magistrates of the town, highly offended, apprehended one of the principal of that disorder, named James Gillon, a cordiner (*shoemaker*), whom they put to an assize. He could not be absolved; for he was the chief man that spoiled John Mowbray of ten crowns of the Sun. Being convicted, they thought to have execute judgment upon him, and so erected a jebbate beneath the Cross.

But, whether by paction with the Provost, Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, or by instigation of the Craftsmen, who have ever been bent too much to maintain such vanity and riotousness, we fully know not, but suddenly there did rise a tumult. The Tolbooth was broken up, and not only the said Gillon was violently taken forth, but also all other malefactors were set at freedom. The gibbet was pulled down, and despitefully broken; and thereafter, as the Provost and some of the Council assembled to Alexander Guthrie the Town Clerk's Chamber for consultation, the whole rascal multitude banded together, with some known dishonest Craftsmen, and intended invasion of the Chamber. Which perceived, the Provost, and such as were in his company, passed to the Tolbooth, not suspecting that they would have been so enraged as to make new pursuit, after they had obtained their intent. They were suddenly deceived. From the Castlehill they came with violence, and with stones, guns, and other weapons, began to assault the Tolbooth. They ran at the door of it, but they were repulsed from the door by stones cast from above, and partly by a pistol shot by Robert Norwell, which hurt one Tweedie. Yet ceased they not to cast and shout [shoot?] in at the windows, threatening death to all that were within. In very deed the malice of the Craftsmen, who were suspected

to be the occasion of that tumult, bare no good will to divers of them that were with the Provost.

The arguments that the Craftsmen were the cause of that uproar, are two. The first is that Archibald Dewar and Patrick Schange, with other five deacons of the Crafts, came to John Knox, and willed him to solicit the Provost and the town to delay the execution.¹ He did answer, 'He had so oft solicited in their favour, that his own conscience accused him, that they used his labours for no other end, but to be a patron to their impiety.' For he had before made intercession for William Harlaw, James Frissell (*Fraser*) and others, that were convict of a former tumult. They proudly said, 'If it is not stayed, both you and the Bailies shall repent it.' Whereto he answered, 'He would not hurt his conscience for any fear of man.' So they departed; and the tumult immediately thereafter did arise.

The second argument is, that the tumult continued from

¹ The Minutes of the Town Council of Edinburgh bear abundant evidence of the cordial relations which subsisted between Knox and the Corporation of Edinburgh, and of their solicitude for his comfort. The more important are quoted by me in *John Knox and John Knox's House* (Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1898). Two may be given here:—

'5th November 1561.

'The Provost, Bailies, and Council ordain the Dean of Guild with all diligence to make a warm study of deals to the minister, John Knox, within his house, above the hall of the same, with lights and windows thereunto, and all other necessities.'

'23rd August 1565.

'The Bailies, Council, and Deacons ordain John Syme, David Forester, and Allan Dickson, Bailies, Master Robert Glen, Treasurer, James Nicholl and William Fowler of the Council, this afternoon to pass to the King and Queen's Majesties [Queen Mary and Lord Darnley], desiring to be heard of them touching the discharging of John Knox, minister, of further preaching, and to report their answer in the morn.

'The same day, afternoon, the Bailies, Council, and Deacons foresaid, being convened in the Council House, after long reasoning upon the discharging of John Knox, minister, of preaching during the King and Queen's Majesties being in this town, all in one voice conclude that they will no manner of way consent that his mouth be closed in preaching the True Word, and therefore willed him at his pleasure, as God should move his heart, to proceed forward in true doctrine as he has been of before, WHICH DOCTRINE THEY WOULD APPROVE AND ABIDE AT TO THEIR LIFE'S END.'

two at afternoon till after eight at night. The Craftsmen were required to assemble themselves together for deliverance of their Provost and Bailies, but they passed to their Four Hours' Penny or Afternoon's Pint (*meal between dinner and supper*), and in their jesting said, 'They will be Magistrates alone. Let them rule the multitude alone!' So, contrary to the oath that they had made, they denied their assistance, counsel, and comfort to their Provost and Bailies; which are arguments very probable, that the said tumult rose by their procurement. The end was, that the Provost and Bailies were compelled to give their handwrits, that they should never pursue any of them that were of that tumult, for any crime that was done in that behalf. This was proclaimed at the Cross after nine hours at night; and that trouble quieted. The whole multitude were holden excommunicate, and were admitted to no participation of the Sacraments, unto such time as they satisfied the Magistrates, and made humble suit unto the Kirk.

In the meantime, the Lord James returned from France [in the end of May 1561].¹ Beside his great expenses, and the loss of a box wherein was a secret poise (*sum of money*), he escaped a desperate danger in Paris. When his return from our Sovereign, who was then with the Cardinal of Lorraine at Rheims, was understood by the Papists at Paris, they conspired either to beset his house by night, or else to assault him and his company as they walked upon the streets. Whereof the Lord James was advertised by the Rheingrave, Count Palatine of the Rhine, by reason of old familiarity which was betwixt them in Scotland.² So he took purpose suddenly

Narrow escape
of Lord James
Stewart in
Paris, 1561.

¹ Writing to Throgmorton from Nancy on 22nd April 1561, Mary, Queen of Scots, thus referred to her brother's visit:—'Quant à Lord James qui est devers moi, il y est venu pour son devoir, comme devers sa Souveraine Dame, que je suis, sans charge ou commission qui concerne autre chose que son droit.'

² The Count Rheingrave had commanded the German troops who formed one of the divisions of the French forces sent to Scotland in 1548. He distinguished himself at the sieges of Haddington and Dundee.

and in good order to depart from Paris, which he did, the second day after he arrived there.

Yet could he not depart so secretly, but that the Papists had their privy ambushes. Upon the Change-brig¹ [*Pont au Change*, across the Seine] they had prepared a procession, which met the said Lord and his company even in the teeth. Knowing the Scots would not do the accustomed reverence to their idols, they thought thereupon to have picked a quarrel; and so, as one part passed by, without moving of hat, they had suborned some to cry ‘Huguenots,’ and to cast stones. But God disappointed their enterprise; for the Count Rheingrave, with other gentlemen, being with the Lord James, rebuked the foolish multitude, and over-rode some of the foremost. The rest were dispersed; and Lord James and his company safely escaped, and came with expedition to Edinburgh, while the Lords and Assembly were yet together, to the great comfort of many godly hearts, and to the no little astonishment of the wicked.

¹ In the edition of the *History* printed at London by Vautrollier, the French printer, in 1586 (which was suppressed by order of the Archbishop of Canterbury), this sentence runs thus:—‘Upon the point of change they had prepared a procession’!

CHAPTER VI

THE BOOK OF DISCIPLINE

THE Preachers vehemently exhorted us to establish the Book of Discipline,¹ by an Act and Public Law ; affirming that if we suffered things to hang in suspense, when God had given unto us sufficient power in our hands, we should after sob for it, but should not get it.

Divers times we have made mention of that Book of Discipline, so we have thought expedient to insert it in this part of our History, to the end that the Posterity to come may judge what the worldlings refused, and what policy the godly ministers required ; so that they may either establish a more perfect, or else imitate that which avariciousness would not suffer this corrupt generation to approve.

* * * * *

HEAD V.—CONCERNING THE PROVISION FOR THE MINISTERS, AND FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE RENTS AND POSSESSIONS JUSTLY APPERTAINING TO THE KIRK.

Provision for Ministers.

Seeing that of Our Master Christ Jesus and His Apostle Paul, we have, ‘That the workman is worthy of his reward,’ and that, ‘The mouth of the labouring ox ought not to be muzzled,’ of necessity it is, that honest provision be made for the Ministers, which we require to be such, that they

¹ This is now known as the *First Book of Discipline*. The *Second Book of Discipline*, under which Presbyterian Church Government as it now exists in Scotland was almost fully matured, was not adopted till 1581, nine years after Knox’s death, when the Church of Scotland was led by Andrew Melville, a scholar of European fame, Knox’s equal in eloquence and in disinterestedness, famous for his resolute opposition to the ecclesiastical supremacy of ‘God’s silly (*weak*) vassal,’ as he called James VI. to his face.

have neither occasion of solicitude, neither yet of insolence and wantonness. This provision must be made not only for their own sustentation, during their lives, but also for their wives and children after them. We judge it a thing most contrarious to reason, godliness, and equity, that the widow and children of him, who in his life did faithfully serve the Kirk of God, and for that cause did not carefully make provision for his family, should, after his death, be left comfortless of all provision. Sorry would we be that poverty should discourage men from study, and from following the way of virtue, by the which they might edify the Kirk and Flock of Christ Jesus.¹

Ministers' Sons and Daughters.

The children of the Ministers must have the liberties of the cities next adjacent, where their fathers laboured, freely granted. They must have the privileges in Schools, and bursaries in Colleges. They shall be sustained at learning if they be found apt thereto; and failing thereof, that they be put to some handicraft, or exercised in some virtuous industry, whereby they may be profitable members in a commonwealth.

And the same we require for their daughters; to wit, that they be virtuously brought up, and honestly doted (*dowered*) when they come to maturity of years, at the discretion of the Kirk.

The Care of the Poor.

Every several Kirk must provide for the Poor within itself. Fearful and horrible it is, that the Poor—whom not only God

¹ 'In our first Reformation in England in King Henry the Eighth's [time], although in some points there was oversight for the help of the ministry and the poor, yet if the Prelacy had been left in their pomp and wealth, the victory had been theirs. I like no spoil; but I allow to have good things put to good uses, as to the enriching of the Crown, to the help of the youth of the Nobility, to the maintenance of ministry in the Church, of learning in schools, and to relieve the poor members of Christ being in body and limbs impoverished.'—*Sir William Cecil to the Lords of the Congregation*, 2nd July 1559.

the Father in His law, but Christ Jesus in His Evangel, and the Holy Spirit speaking by St. Paul, hath so earnestly commended to our care—are universally despised. We are not patrons for stubborn and idle beggars, who, running from place to place, make a craft of their begging, whom the Civil Magistrate ought to punish. But for the widow and fatherless, the aged, impotent, or lamed, who neither can nor may travaill for their sustentation, we say, that God commandeth His people to be careful. Therefore, for such, as also for persons of honesty fallen into decay and penurity, ought such provision be made, that of our abundance should their indigence be relieved.

The necessity of Schools, Colleges, and Universities.

Seeing that God hath determined that His Church here on earth shall be taught, not by angels, but by men; and seeing that men are born ignorant of all godliness; and seeing, also, God now ceaseth to illuminate men miraculously, suddenly changing them, as He did His Apostles and others in the Primitive Church:—of necessity it is that Your Honours be most careful for the virtuous education, and godly upbringing of the Youth of this Realm, if either ye now thirst unfeignedly for the advancement of Christ's glory, or desire the continuance of His benefits to the generation following. As the Youth must succeed to us, so ought we to be careful that they have the knowledge and erudition, to profit and comfort that which ought to be most dear to us, to wit, the Church and Spouse of the Lord Jesus.

Of necessity therefore we judge it, that every Church have a Schoolmaster appointed, such an one as is able, at least, to teach Grammar and the Latin Tongue, if the Town be of any reputation.¹ If it be upaland (*in the country*), where the

¹ 'In the South of Europe, the Revival of Letters preceded the Reformation of Religion, and materially facilitated its progress. In the North this order was reversed, and Scotland, in particular, must date the origin of her literary acquirements from the first introduction of the Protestant opinions.'—Dr. M'CRIE'S *Life of Knox*.

people convene to doctrine but once in the week, then must either the Reader or the Minister take care over the Youth of the Parish, to instruct them in their first rudiments, and especially in the Catechism of John Calvin, as we have it now translated in the Book of our Common Order, [used first in the English Church at Geneva, and so] called the Order of Geneva. Farther, we think it expedient, that in every notable town, there be erected a College, in which the Arts, at least Logic and Rhetoric, together with the Tongues, be read by sufficient Masters, for whom honest stipends must be appointed; as also that there be provision for those that be poor, and not able by themselves, or by their friends, to be sustained at letters, especially such as come from landward.

Last, The great Schools called Universities¹ shall be replenished with those that be apt to learning. THIS MUST BE CAREFULLY PROVIDED, THAT NO FATHER, OF WHAT ESTATE OR CONDITION THAT EVER HE BE, USE HIS CHILDREN AT HIS OWN FANTASY, ESPECIALLY IN THEIR YOUTH-HEAD; BUT ALL MUST BE COMPELLED TO BRING UP THEIR CHILDREN IN LEARNING AND VIRTUE.²

HEAD VI.—THE RENTS AND PATRIMONY OF THE KIRK.

The Ministers of the Word, and the Poor, together with the

¹ The University of Edinburgh was not founded till 1582, ten years after Knox's death. The Scots Universities in his time were those of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, of which the University of St. Andrews, founded in 1410, was the most famous, St. Andrews being at that time, in the words of the Scots Reformers writing on 4th September 1566, to Theodore Beza, *urbs literis divinis humanisque in Scotia florentissima*.

² 'Honour to all the brave and true! Everlasting honour to brave old Knox, one of the truest of the true! That in the moment while he and his cause, amid civil broils, in convulsion and confusion, were still but struggling for life, he sent the schoolmaster forth to all corners, and said, "Let the people be taught!" This is but one, and indeed a comparatively inconsiderable, item in his great message to men. His message in its true compass was: "Let men know that they are men; created by God, responsible to God; who work in any meanest moment of time what will last through eternity." This great message Knox did deliver, with a man's voice and strength; and found a people to believe him.'—THOMAS CARLYLE in *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*. Compulsory education was enacted in Scotland in 1872.

Schools, must be sustained upon the charges of the Church. . . . We require Deacons and Treasurers rather to receive the rents than the Ministers themselves, because that out of the Teinds must not only the Ministers be sustained, but also the Poor and Schools. Therefore we think it most expedient that Common Treasurers, to wit the Deacons, be appointed from year to year to receive the whole rents appertaining to the Church.

Reading the Scriptures and Family Worship.

Farther, we think it a thing most expedient and necessary, that every Church have a Bible in English, and that the people be commanded to convene to hear the plain reading or interpretation of the Scriptures, as the Church shall appoint; that by frequent reading this gross ignorance, which in the cursed Papistry hath overflown all, may partly be removed.¹ We think it most expedient that the Scriptures be read in order, that is, that some one book of the Old and the New Testament be begun and orderly read to the end. And the same we judge of preaching, where the Minister for the most part remaineth in one place. Skipping and divagation from place to place of the Scripture, be it in reading, or be it in preaching, we judge not so profitable to edify the Church, as the continual following of one text. . . .

In private houses we think it expedient, that the most grave and discreet person use the Common Prayers at morn and at night, for the comfort and instruction of others.

¹ At first, apparently, Knox had contemplated a less formal order of worship than that afterwards adopted. In his 'Letter of Wholesome Counsel to his Brethren in Scotland,' written from Geneva in 1556 (*Works*, vol. iv. p. 129), he said: 'I think it necessary that, for the conference of Scriptures, assemblies of Brethren be had. The order therein to be observed is expressed by St. Paul. . . . After confession and invocation, let some place of Scripture be plainly and distinctly read, so much as shall be thought sufficient for one day or time, which ended, if any brother have exhortation, question or doubt, let him not fear to speak or move the same, so that he do it with moderation, either to edify or to be edified.'

V. FRENCH TUNE.
Church part
Tenor.
Contra.

VI. LONDON TUNE.
Church part.
Tenor.
Contra.

VII. STILT TUNE.
Church part.
Tenor.
Contra.

V. FRENCH TUNE.
Bass.
Treble.

VI. LONDON TUNE.
Bass.
Treble.

VII. STILT TUNE.
Bass.
Treble.
Tenor.

39. Reduced facsimile of double page from a later edition of 'John Knox's Liturgy,' for use by persons placed opposite each other, and singing different parts. (See page 227.)

Seeing that we behold the hand of God presently striking us with divers plagues, we think it a contempt of His judgments, if we be not moved to repentance of our former unthankfulness, and to earnest invocation of His name, whose only power may, and great mercy will, if we unfeignedly convert unto Him, remove from us these terrible plagues which now for our iniquities hang over our heads. Convert us, O Lord, and we shall be converted !

Services at Funerals optional, but not recommended.

For avoiding all inconveniences, we judge it best, that neither singing nor reading be at the Burial; for, albeit things sung and read may admonish some of the living to prepare themselves for death, yet shall some superstitious and ignorant persons ever think, that the works—singing or reading of the living—do and may profit the Dead. And therefore, we think most expedient that the Dead be conveyed to the Place of Burial with some honest company of the Church, without either singing or reading; yea, without all kind of ceremony heretofore used, other than that the Dead be committed to the grave, with such gravity and sobriety, as those that be present may seem to fear the judgments of God, and to hate sin, which is the cause of Death.

And yet, notwithstanding, we are not so precise, but that we are content that particular Kirks use them in that behalf, with the consent of the Ministry of the same, as they will answer to God, and the Assembly of the Universal Kirk gathered within the Realm.

In respect of divers inconveniences, we think it neither seemly that the Church appointed to Preaching and Ministration of the Sacraments shall be made a place of Burial; but that some other secret and convenient place, lying in the most free air, be appointed for that use; the which place ought to be well walled and fenced about, and kept for that use only.

For Reparation of Churches.

Lest that the Word of God, and Ministration of the Sacraments, by unseemliness of the place, come into contempt, of necessity it is, that the Churches and places where the people ought publicly to convene, be with expedition repaired in doors, windows, thatch, and with such preparations within, as appertaineth, as well to the majesty of the Word of God, as unto the ease and commodity of the people. And because we know the slothfulness of men in this behalf, and in all other which may not redound to their private commodity, straight charge and commandment must be given, that within a certain day the Reparations must be begun, and within another day, to be affixed by Your Honours, that they be finished : penalties and sums of money must be enjoined, and without pardon taken from the contemners.

The Reparation would be according to the possibility and number of the Church. Every Church must have doors, close windows of glass, thatch or slate able to withhold rain, a bell to convocate the people together, a pulpit, a basin for baptism, and tables for the Ministration of the Lord's Supper. In greater Churches, and where the congregation is great in number, must Reparation be made within the Church for the quiet and commodious receiving of the people. The expenses to be lifted partly of the People, and partly of the Teinds, at the consideration of the Ministry.

Act of Secret Council, 27th January, Anno LX.¹

We, who have subscribed these presents, having advised with the Articles herein specified, as is above mentioned from the beginning of this Book, think the same good, and conform to God's Word in all points ; conform to the Notes and Additions thereto eked ; and promise to set the same forward, at the uttermost of our powers ; Providing

¹ According to modern reckoning. 1561.

that the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and other Prelates and Beneficed Men, who have adjoined them to us, bruike (*enjoy*) the revenues of their benefices during their lifetimes, they sustaining and upholding the Ministry and Ministers, as is herein specified, for preaching of the Word, and ministering of the Sacraments of God.

JAMES [Duke of Chatelherault, Regent of Scotland,
1542 to 1554].

JAMES HAMMYLTON [third Earl of Arran, son of the
foregoing].

AR^D. ERGYLL [fifth Earl of Argyle].

JAMES STEWART [afterwards Earl of Moray and
Regent of Scotland].

ROTHES [fourth Earl of Rothes].

R. BOYD [fourth Lord Boyd].

ALEX^R. CAMPBELL, DEAN OF MURRAY [third son of
third Earl of Argyle].

MAISTER ALEX^R. GORDON [previously Roman Catholic
Bishop of Galloway, son of a natural daughter
of James IV.].

GLENCARN [Alexander, Earl of Glencairn].

UCHILTRE [second Lord Ochiltree, afterwards John
Knox's father-in-law].

SANQUHAR [Lord Crichton of Sanquhar].

SANCTJOHNS [Lord St. John].

WILLIAM, LORD HAY [fifth Lord Hay of Yester].

Etc. etc.

END OF BOOK III.



BOOK IV

1561-1564

*From the return to Scotland of Mary, Queen of Scots, on
19th August 1561, to the rise of David Rizzio in 1564.*

THE FOURTH BOOK of
the Progress and Continuance
of True Religion within
Scotland.



Votre tres humble Tres obéissante fille

MARIE

40. Mary, Queen of Scots, by François Clouet. In the Hermitage Gallery, St. Petersburg. Beheaded 1587, at forty-four years of age, after eighteen years of captivity.

PREFACE TO BOOK IV

IN the former Books, Gentle Reader, thou mayest clearly see how potently God hath performed, in these our last and wicked days, as well as in the ages before us, the promises made to the Servants of God by the Prophet Esaias, ‘They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall lift up the wings as the eagles: they shall run and not be weary; they shall walk, and not faint.’¹

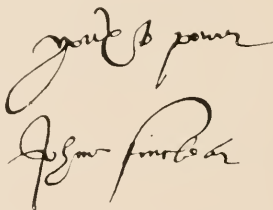
What was our force? What was our number? What wisdom or worldly policy was in us, to have brought to a good end so great an enterprise?—our very enemies can bear witness. Yet in how great purity did God establish among us His True Religion, as well in doctrine as in ceremonies! As touching the doctrine taught by our Ministers, and as touching the Administration of Sacraments used in our Churches, we are bold to affirm, that there is no realm this day upon the face of the earth, that hath them in greater purity. Yea—we must speak the truth, whomsoever we offend—there is no realm that hath them in the like purity. All others—how sincere so ever the doctrine be that by some is taught—retain in their Churches, and in

¹ ‘I know nothing more touching in history than the way in which the Commons of Scotland took their places by the side of Knox. Broken they might have been; trampled out as the Huguenots were trampled out in France, had Mary Stuart been less than the most imprudent or the most unlucky of sovereigns. But Providence, or the folly of those with whom they had to deal, fought for them. The aristocracy of Scotland were eager to support Mary. John Knox alone, and the Commons, whom Knox had raised into a political power, remained true. Good reason has Scotland to be proud of Knox. He only in this wild crisis saved the Kirk which he had founded, and saved with it Scotch and English freedom.’—J. A. FROUDE in *The Influence of the Reformation on the Scottish Church*, p. 21.

the Ministers thereof, some footsteps of Antichrist, and some dregs of Papistry; but we, all praise to God alone! have nothing within our Churches that ever flowed from that Man of Sin. This we acknowledge to be the strength given to us by God, because we esteemed not ourselves wise in our own eyes, but, understanding our own wisdom to be but foolishness before the Lord our God, we laid it aside, and followed only that which we found approved by Himself.

In this point could never our enemies cause us to faint, for our First Petition was, 'That the reverend face of the Primitive and Apostolic Church should be reduced (*brought back*) again to the eyes and knowledge of men.'¹ In that point, our God hath strengthened us till the work was finished, as the world may see.

¹ 'Knox's object was to free Christianity from the deformation and disguises which it had suffered in the dogmas, worship and hierarchy of the Roman Church, and to bring its genuine, original, or natural truth in faith and morals again to recognition.'—Professor PFLEIDERER's *Gifford Lectures*, vol. i. p. 4.



41. 'Yours to power, John Sinclair.' In times of peril Knox signed his mother's name. Mr. Froude, misled by this signature, attributed to the 'Master of Sinclair' one of Knox's letters to Sir James Crofts, the English Ambassador, signed *John Sinclair*.

CHAPTER I

FROM THE RETURN TO SCOTLAND OF MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS,
ON 19TH AUGUST 1561, TO HER FIRST INTERVIEW WITH
JOHN KNOX AT HOLYROOD ON 26TH AUGUST 1561.

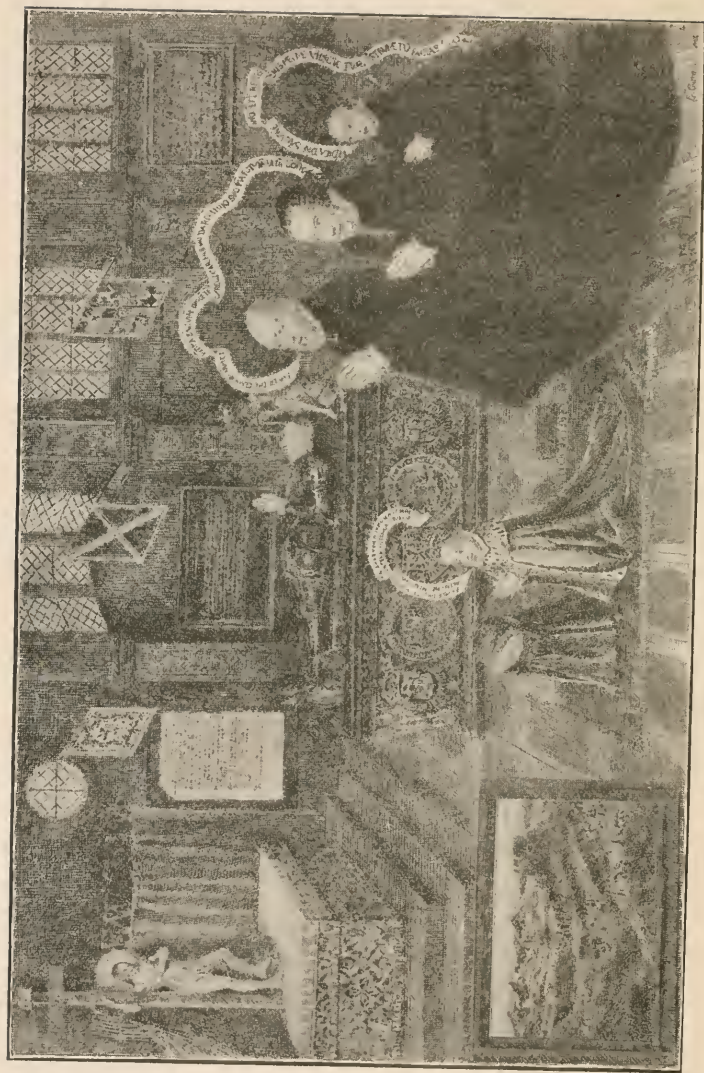
WHENCE, alas! cometh this miserable dispersion of God's people within this Realm, this day, Anno 1566, in May? ¹ What is the cause that now the just are compelled to keep silence, good men are banished, murderers and such as are known unworthy of the common society—if just laws were put in due execution—bear the whole regiment and swing within this realm? We answer, because suddenly the most part of us declined from the purity of God's Word, and began to follow the world; and so again to shake hands with the devil, and with idolatry, as in this Fourth Book we will hear. The troubles of the Kirk within Scotland flowed from the Courtiers that seemed to profess the Evangel. ²

Reasons why
the Church is
troubled.

While Papists were so confounded, that none within the Realm dared more avow the hearing or saying of Mass, than the thieves of Liddesdale durst avow their stowth (*theft*) in presence of an upright judge, there were Protestants found,

¹ 'This "dispersion of God's people" refers to what occurred shortly after the murder of David Rizzio, when, besides the persons implicated in that outrage, many others, like Knox himself, who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the Queen, were obliged to fly from Edinburgh for safety. As Knox was employed at this time in compiling his *History*, this may serve to explain, although not to justify, the very strong language which he frequently uses in mentioning Queen Mary, and the license of the courtiers.'—Dr. LAING's *Notes*.

² 'Amongst us were such as more sought the purse than Christ's glory.'—*Knox to Mrs. Anna Locke*, 18th November 1559.



42. Cenotaph of the Earl of Darnley, with his son (James VI.) kneeling in front, and his father, mother, and brother behind. From a picture in the collection of Her Majesty at Windsor. (See page 313.)

that ashamed not at tables and other open places to ask, 'Why may not the Queen have her own Mass, and the form of her religion? What can that hurt us or our religion?' And from these two—'Why' and 'What'—at length sprang out this affirmative, 'The Queen's Mass and her Priests will we maintain. This hand and this rapier shall fight in their defence!'

The Truth of God was almost forgot; and from this fountain—to wit, that flesh and blood was, and yet, alas, is preferred to God, and to His messengers rebuking vice and vanity—hath all our misery proceeded. For, as before, so even yet, although the Ministers be set to beg, the Guard and the Men of war must be served! Though the blood of the Ministers be spilt, it is the Queen's Servants that did it! Although Masses be multiplied in all quarters of the Realm, who can stop the Queen's subjects to live in the Queen's religion? Although innocent men be imprisoned, it is the Queen's pleasure; she is offended at such men! Although, under pretence of justice, innocents be cruelly murdered, the Lords shall weep, but the Queen's mind must be satisfied! Nobles of the Realm, Barons and Councillors are banished, their escheats disposed (*forfeited estates given to others*), and their lives most unjustly pursued. The Queen has lost her trusty servant Davy (*David Rizzio*): he was dear unto her; and therefore, for her honour's sake, she must show rigour to revenge his death!

Yet farther, albeit that some know that she has plainly purposed to wreck the Religion within this Realm;¹ that

¹ On the truth or falsehood of this statement, the whole question of Knox's conduct to Mary, down to the murder of Darnley and the marriage to Bothwell, turns. If she was sincere in her professions of readiness to tolerate Protestantism, then, from our modern point of view, no language can be too strong to denounce John Knox's treatment of the Queen. If, on the other hand, he—and he almost alone—was correct in branding these professions as deliberately false, then his actings become not only intelligible, but praiseworthy. To those who have studied Mary's own letters, as printed in Prince Labanoff's collection (vol. i. pp. 177, 179, 355, 369; vol. vii. 6), it may well appear difficult to understand how any unprejudiced reader can come to

to the Roman Antichrist she hath made her promise; and that from him she hath taken money to uphold his pomp within this Realm; yet will they let the people understand, that the Queen will establish Religion, and provide all things orderly, if she were once delivered.

If such dealings, which are common among our Protestants, be not to prefer flesh and blood to God, to His truth, to justice, to religion, and unto the liberty of this oppressed realm, let the world judge.¹ The plagues have been, and in some part are present, that were before threatened; the rest approach. And yet, who from the heart crieth 'I have offended; the Lord knows; in Thee only is the trust of the oppressed; for vain is the help of man?' But now return we to our History.

The nineteenth day of August, the year of God 1561, betwixt seven and eight hours before noon, arrived at Leith Marie, Queen of Scotland, then widow, with two galleys furth of France. In her company, besides her gentlewomen, called the Maries [Mary Fleming, Mary Seton, Mary Beaton, and Mary Livingstone], were her three uncles, Claude de Lorraine, the Duke d'Aumale, Francis de Lorraine, the Grand Prior, and René de Lorraine, Marquis d'Elbœuf. There accompanied her also the Seigneur de Damville, son to the Constable of France, with other gentlemen of inferior condition, besides servants and officers.

Arrival of
Queen Mary
in Scotland,
1561.

any other conclusion than that at which John Knox arrived at his first interview with the Queen. The original materials for deciding this question will be found impartially noted in Mr. Hay Fleming's *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. pp. 267-269, 376. Compare *Rooksby to Cecil* (Hatfield, i. 339), and Forbes-Leith's *Narratives*, p. 67.

¹ 'Il nous est bien permis au xix^e siècle d'être pour Marie Stuart contre Knox. Mais, au xvr^e siècle, le Protestantisme fanatique servait mieux la cause du progrès que le Catholicisme, même relâché'—('In the nineteenth century, it is quite allowable for us to be all for Mary Stuart and against Knox. But, at the same time, in the sixteenth century, fanatical Protestantism served the cause of progress better than Catholicism, even of a liberal sort').—ERNEST RENAN'S *Histoire du Peuple d'Israël*, vol. iii. p. 155.

The very face of heaven, the time of her arrival, did manifestly speak what comfort was brought into this country with her, to wit, dolour, darkness, and all impiety. In the memory of man, that day of the year, was never seen a more dolorous face of the heaven. Besides the surfeit (*immoderate*) wet, and corruption of the air, the mist was so thick and so dark, that scarce might any man espy another the length of two pair of butts. The sun was not seen to shine two days before, nor two days after. That fore-warning gave God unto us; but, alas, the most part were blind!¹

At the sound of the cannons which the galleys shot, the multitude being advertised, happy were he and she that first might have the presence of the Queen!

The Protestants were not the slowest, and therein they were not to be blamed. Because the Palace of Holyroodhouse was not thoroughly put in order—for her coming was more sudden than many looked for—she remained in Leith till towards evening, and then repaired thither. In the way, betwixt Leith and the Abbey, met her the rebels of the Crafts, of whom we spoke before, to wit, those that had violated the authority of the Magistrates, and had besieged the Provost. But, because she was sufficiently instructed that all they did was done in despite of the Religion, they were easily pardoned. Fires of joy were set forth all night, and a company of the most honest, with instruments of music, and with musicians, gave their salutations at her chamber window. The melody, as she alleged, liked her



43. Queen Mary, as a girl.
By François Clouet.

¹ The memoir writer Brantôme, who accompanied the Queen to Scotland, tells us that he saw nothing but *grand brouillard*—a dense fog!

well; and she willed the same to be continued some nights after.¹

With great diligence the Lords repaired unto her from all quarters. And so was nothing understood but mirth and quietness till the next Sunday, which was the 24th of August. Then preparation began to be made for that idol, the Mass, to be said in the Chapel² of Holyroodhouse, which pierced the hearts of all. The godly began to bolder; and men began openly to speak. 'Shall that idol be suffered again to take place within this Realm? It shall not.' The Lord Lyndsay—then but Master—with the Gentlemen of Fife and others, plainly cried in the Close, 'The idolater Priest shall die the death, according to God's law.' One that carried in the candle was evil affrayed; but the Lord James Stewart, the man whom all the godly did most reverence, took upon him to keep the Chapel Door. His best excuse was, that he would stop all Scotsmen to enter in to the Mass. But it is sufficiently known that the door was kept that none should have entress to trouble the Priest, who, after the Mass, was committed to the protection of Lord John Stewart, Prior of Coldingham, and Lord Robert Stewart, Abbot of Holyroodhouse the Queen's natural brothers], who then were both Protestants, and had communicate at the Table of the Lord. Betwixt these two was the Priest convoyed to his chamber.

The godly departed with great grief of heart, and at after-

¹ Brantôme gives in his *Memoirs* the following account:—'Le soir ainsi qu'elle se vouloit coucher, vindrent sous le fenestre cinq ou six cent marauds (*rascals*) de la ville, lui donner aubade (*serenade*) de méchants violons et petits rebecs (*fiddles*), dont il n'y en a faute en ce pays-là, et se mirent à chanter Psaumes, tant mal chantez et si mal accordez que rien plus. Hé! Quelle musique! Et quel repos pour sa nuit!' So far as the psalm-singing goes, Brantôme's account is confirmed by the entry in the Town Treasurer's accounts of 24s. 'for a dozen of torches that yead afore (*went before*) the Provost, Bailies, and Town when they yead to the Abbey to sing the Psalms to the Queen's Grace.'

² This was not the church of the Abbey, the ruins of which still exist, but the Chapel Royal attached to the Palace.

noon repaired to the Abbey in great companies, and gave plain signification that they could not abide that the land which God by His power had purged from idolatry, should in their eyes be polluted again.¹ Which understood, there began complaint upon complaint. The old dontibours (*loose characters*), and others that long had served in the Court, and had no remission of sins, but by virtue of the Mass, cried, 'They would to France without delay; they could not live without the Mass.' The same affirmed the Queen's uncles. And would to God that that menyie (*crowd*), together with the Mass, had taken good-night at this realm forever; for so had Scotland been rid of an unprofitable burden of devouring strangers, and of the malediction of God that has stricken, and yet will strike, for idolatry!

The Council assembled, disputation was had of the next remedy. Politic heads were sent unto the Gentlemen with these and the like persuasions: 'Why, alas, will ye chase our Sovereign from us? She will incontinent return to her galleys, and what then shall all Realms say of us? May we not suffer her a little while? We doubt not but she shall leave it. If we were not assured that she might be won, we should be as great enemies to her Mass as ye should be. Her uncles will depart; and then shall we rule all at our pleasure. Would not we be as sorry to hurt the Religion as any of you would be?' With these and the like persuasions was the fervency of the Brethren quenched.

The next Sunday [31st August 1561], John Knox, inveighing against idolatry, showed what terrible plagues God had taken on realms and nations for the same, and added: 'One Mass'—there were no more suffered at the first—'is more fearful to me

Knox's 'untimely admonition.'

¹ 'Near an hundred years after this period, when the violence of religious animosities had begun to subside, when time and the progress of learning had enlarged the views of the human mind, an English House of Commons refused to indulge the wife of their sovereign in the private use of the Mass.'—Principal ROBERTSON's *History of Scotland*, Book iii. p. 59.

than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the Realm of purpose to suppress the whole Religion.¹ In our God there is strength to resist and confound multitudes if we unfeignedly depend upon Him, whereof heretofore we have had experience. But when we join hands with idolatry, both God's amicable presence and comfortable defence leaveth us, and what shall then become of us? Alas, I fear that experience shall teach us, to the grief of many.'

At these words the guiders of the Court mocked, and plainly spoke—'Such fear was no point of their faith. It was beside his text, and was a very untimely admonition.' But we heard this same John Knox, in the audience of the same men, recite the same words again in the midst of troubles. In the audience of many, he asked God's mercy that he was not more vehement and upright in the suppressing of that idol in the beginning. 'Albeit I spake that which offended some, which this day they see and feel to be true, yet did I not what I might have done. God had not only given me knowledge and tongue to make the impiety of that idol known, but He had given me credit with many who would have put in execution God's judgments, if I would only have consented thereto. But so careful was I of that common tranquillity, and so loth to offend those of whom I had conceived a good opinion, that in secret conference with earnest and zealous men, I travailled rather to mitigate, yea,

¹ This sentence has often been quoted as a typical instance of Knox's fanaticism. Not so thought Mr. Froude the historian, neither a compatriot nor a co-religionist of John Knox. In a letter to Sir John Skelton, he wrote:—'Whatever was the cause, the Calvinists were the only fighting Protestants. It was they whose faith gave them courage to stand up for the Reformation. In England, Scotland, France, Holland, they, and they only, did the work, and but for them the Reformation would have been crushed. This is why I admire them, and feel there was something in their creed that made them what they were. . . . I entirely agree with Knox in his horror of that one Mass. If it had not been for Calvinists, Huguenots, Puritans, and whatever you like to call them, the Pope and Philip would have won, and we should either be Papists or Socialists.'—Sir JOHN SKELTON's *Mary Stuart*, p. 192.

to stoken that fervency that God had kindled in others, than to animate or encourage them to put their hands to the Lord's work. Wherein I unfeignedly acknowledge myself to have done most wickedly, and from the bottom of my heart ask of my God grace and pardon.' These words did many hear John Knox speak in public place, in the month of December, the year of God 1565, when such as at the Queen's arrival maintained [her right to have] the Mass, were exiled the realm, summoned for treason, and decreet of forfeiture intended against them.¹ But to return from whence we have digressed.

Whether it was by counsel of others, or of Queen Mary's own desire, we know not, but the Queen spake with John Knox at Holyrood and had long reasoning with him, none being present except the Lord James Stewart, while two gentlewomen stood in the other end of the house.²

First Interview between Queen Mary and Knox, on 26th August 1561, at Holyrood.

The Queen accused John Knox that he had raised a part

¹ The situation of Mary—trained as a child to detest Protestantism, and as a Queen to suppress it—at the head of a nation in which the Reformation leaven was strongly working, was impossible. Randolph, the sagacious English Ambassador, soon saw this. With prophetic instinct he wrote to Queen Elizabeth on 26th May 1562:—'To make it more plain unto Your Majesty, as long as this Queen is in heart divided from her subjects through the diversity of religion, they neither have that quietness of mind nor peace in conscience that is most to be desired in true worship of their Sovereign, nor yet see how her state can long continue, seeing the self-same seeds remain that were the occasion of a former mischief.' Four years later, on 27th August 1566, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Grindal) wrote to Henry Bullinger, the Swiss Reformer:—'The churches in Scotland still retain the pure confession of the Gospel; but the Queen of Scotland seems to be doing all in her power to extirpate it. She has lately given orders that six or seven Popish Masses should be celebrated daily in her Court, where all are admitted who choose to attend; whereas she was till now content with only one Mass, and that a private one, no Scotsman being allowed to be present. She has lately banished John Knox from her Royal City of Edinburgh, where he has hitherto been chief minister, nor can she be induced to allow him to return.'

It is probable that conversation was carried on at this first interview

of her subjects against her mother and against herself: that he had written a book against her just authority,—she meant the treatise against the Regiment of Women—which she should cause the most learned in Europe to write against; that he was the cause of great sedition and great slaughter in England; and that it was said to her, that all which he did was by necromancy.

To the which the said John answered:—‘Madam, may it please Your Majesty patiently to hear my simple answers? First, if to teach the Truth of God in sincerity, if to rebuke idolatry and to will a people to worship God according to His Word, be to raise subjects against their Princes, then can I not be excused; for it hath pleased God of His Mercy to make me one among many to disclose unto this Realm the vanity of the Papistical Religion, and the deceit, pride, and tyranny of that Roman Antichrist. But, Madam, if the true knowledge of God and His right worshipping be the chief causes, that must move men from their heart to obey their just Princes, as it is most certain they are, wherein can I be reprehended? I am surely persuaded that Your Grace has had, and presently has, as unfeigned obedience of such as profess Jesus Christ within this Realm, as ever your father or other progenitors had of those that were called Bishops.

‘And, touching that Book which seemeth so highly to offend Your Majesty, it is most certain that I wrote it, and I am content that all the learned of the world judge of it. I hear that an Englishman¹ hath written against it, but I

between the Queen and Knox in French, which Knox spoke fluently. This question is discussed in volume iv. of Hill Burton’s *History of Scotland*, p. 211. Mr. Taylor Innes (*Life of Knox*, in *Famous Scots Series*, p. 123) suggests that it may have been the Earl of Moray who proposed this first interview, which took place seven days after Mary’s arrival in Scotland from France. The Queen had probably never met a Protestant teacher before, except those whom she and her husband had seen earn a martyr’s crown in France.

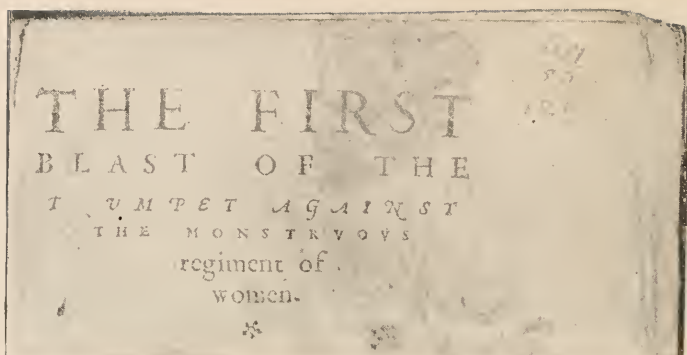
¹ John Aylmer, afterwards Bishop of London. His answer bore the title of, ‘An Harborowe for faithful and true subjects against the late blown blast

have not read him. If he hath sufficiently improved (*disproved*) my reasons, and established his contrary propositions with as evident testimonies as I have done mine, I shall not be obstinate, but shall confess my error and ignorance. But to this hour I have thought, and yet think, myself alone to be more able to sustain the things affirmed in my work, than any ten in Europe shall be able to confute it.'

Queen Mary. 'Ye think then that I have no just authority?'

John Knox. 'Please Your Majesty, learned men in all ages have had their judgments free. They have most commonly disagreed from the common judgment of the world. Such also have they published, both with pen and tongue, and yet, notwithstanding, they themselves have lived in common society with others, and have borne patiently with the errors and imperfections which they could not amend. Plato, the philosopher, wrote his book of *The Commonwealth*, in the which he damnethe many things that then were maintained in the world, and requireth many things to be reformed. Yet, he lived under such policies as then were universally received, without further troubling of any estate. Even so, Madam, am I content to do in uprightness of heart, and with testimony of a good conscience. I have communicated my judgment to the world. If the Realm finds no inconvenience from the government of a woman, that which they approve shall I not further disallow than within my own breast, but shall be as well content to live under Your Grace as Paul

concerning the Government of Women.' He severely condemns Knox's views, but bears testimony to Knox's candour:—'I have that opinion of John Knox's honesty and godliness, that he will not disdain to hear better reasons, nor be loth to be taught in anything he misseeth.' Aylmer also uses language about women, which goes farther than anything to be found in the *First Blast*. Without drawing breath, he pronounces 'the worst sort' to be 'foolish, flibbergibs, tattlers, triflers, wavering, witless, without counsel, feeble, careless, rash, proud, talebearers, eavesdroppers, rumour-raisers, evil-tongued, worse-minded, and in every wise doltified with the dregs of the Devil's dunghill!' The book is not paged; but this choice passage will be found by the curious on the twenty-seventh leaf, counting the title-page.



44. Facsimile of part of Title-page of John Knox's *First Blast*.
(See pages 240, 272.)

This extravagant and ill-timed publication brought Knox into hostile relations with Queen Elizabeth. He himself says, that it made him 'odious in the eyes of Queen Elizabeth,' and admits that it was 'blown out of due season'; and that 'my *First Blast* hath blown from me all my friends in England'; while Cecil wrote from the Court on 31st October 1559, 'of all others, Knox's name, if it be not Goodman's, is most odious here.' This unfortunate impression, all the influence of Cecil and his subordinates was not able to remove. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton wrote to Elizabeth on 13th July 1561: 'Whatsoever the Queen of Scotland shall insinuate Your Majesty of Knoles, he hath done, and doth daily, as good service to establish a mutual benevolence and common quiet between the two realms, as any man of that nation. His doing therein, together with his zeal well known, have sufficiently recompensed his faults in writing that book; therefore he is not to be driven out of that realm.'

This publication, however, may be viewed from another aspect. But for the *First Blast*, it is not improbable that Knox might have settled finally in England. For ten of the best years of his life, he was chiefly in contact with English, not with Scottish, minds. In Edward the Sixth's reign, he had spent five years in England, had exercised, as a Royal Chaplain, important influence in the preparation both of the Articles and the Prayer-Book of the Church of England, had become familiarly acquainted with many of the leading English statesmen and churchmen, and had been offered high office in the Church of England. At Frankfort and Geneva, he had ministered to congregations chiefly composed of English refugees, numbering among them some of the greatest Hebrew, Greek and Latin scholars of the day. But for the antagonism created between him and Elizabeth by the publication of his views against female government, it is certain that Sir William Cecil, whose shade of Protestantism closely resembled Knox's in essential particulars, would have made an effort to secure Knox's learning and eloquence for an influential position in the Church of England, and it is not improbable that Knox, who had married an English wife, whose two sons were educated in England, and afterwards became clergymen of the Church of England, and who, almost alone among the Scotsmen of the day, was entirely free from the old Scottish prejudice against England, might have ended his days as the leader of the Puritanic party in the Church of England. In 1554, he went so far as to write, 'I take God to record in my conscience that the troubles in the Realm of England are double more dolorous unto my heart than ever were the troubles of Scotland.'

It ought to be added, that extravagant as the views in the *First Blast* seem to us, they were in accordance with the views of the most eminent thinkers of the time; and further, that they obtained an appearance of force in the eyes of Protestants from their experience of the persecutions actually carried on by female sovereigns in Europe. Knox himself seems to have been conscious to some extent that his views were at least coloured by his unfortunate experience. 'Master Knox, in certain articles given unto my Lord James at this time, hath mitigated somewhat the rigour of his book, referring much unto the time that the same was written.'—*Randolph to Cecil*, 20th March 1561.

was to live under Nero. My hope is, that so long as ye defile not your hands with the blood of the Saints of God,



45. Queen Mary Tudor, commonly called 'The Bloody Mary.' (See p. 256.)

When she succeeded to the throne, John Knox, who was at the time one of the Royal Chaplains, fled from England to the Continent.

neither I nor that book shall either hurt you or your authority. In very deed, Madam, that book was written most especially

against that wicked Jezebel of England' (*Queen Mary Tudor*).

Queen Mary. 'But ye speak of women in general?'

John Knox. 'Most true, Madam. Yet it appeareth to me that wisdom should persuade Your Grace, never to raise trouble for that, which to this day hath not troubled Your Majesty, neither in person nor yet in authority. Of late years many things which before were holden stable have been called in doubt; yea, they have been plainly impugned. Yet, Madam, I am assured that neither Protestant nor Papist shall be able to prove, that any such question was at any time moved in public or in secret. Now, Madam, if I had intended to have troubled your estate, because ye are a woman, I might have chosen a time more convenient for that purpose, than I can do now, when your own presence is within the Realm.'

'But now, Madam, shortly to answer to the other two accusations. I heartily praise my God through Jesus Christ, if Satan, the enemy of mankind, and the wicked of the world, have no other crimes to lay to my charge, than such as the very world itself knoweth to be most false and vain. In England I was resident the space of five years. The places were Berwick, where I abode two years; so long in Newcastle; and a year in London. Now, Madam, if in any of these places, during the time that I was there, any man shall be able to prove that there was either battle, sedition, or mutiny, I shall confess that I myself was the malefactor and the shedder of the blood. I shame not, Madam, to affirm, that God so blessed my weak labours, that in Berwick¹—where commonly before there used to be slaughter by

¹ In Knox the people of Berwick got the very man whose character had been drawn by John Brende, while Knox was still a galley slave. Brende, the 'Master of the Musters,' wrote to the Protector Somerset on 14th November 1548:—'There is better order among the Tartars than in this town of Berwick. It will require a stern disciplinarian in the pulpit, as well as a stirring preacher to work out a moral and social reform.'

reason of quarrels among soldiers—there was as great quietness, all the time that I remained there, as there is this day in Edinburgh. And where they slander me of magic, necromancy, or of any other art forbidden of God, I have witnesses, besides my own conscience—all congregations that ever heard me—to what I spake both against such arts and against those that use such impiety.’¹

Queen Mary. ‘But yet ye have taught the people to receive another religion than their Princes can allow. How can that doctrine be of God, seeing that God commandeth subjects to obey their Princes?’

John Knox. ‘Madam, as right religion took neither original strength nor authority from worldly princes, but from the Eternal God alone, so are not subjects bound to frame their religion according to the appetites of their princes. Princes are oft the most ignorant of all others in God’s true religion, as we may read in the Histories, as well before the death of Christ Jesus as after. If all the seed of Abraham should have been of the religion of Pharaoh, to whom they were long subjects, I pray you, Madam, what religion should there have been in the world? Or, if all men in the days of the Apostles should have been of the religion of the Roman Emperors, what religion should there have been upon the face of the earth? Daniel and his fellows were subjects to Nebuchadnezzar and unto Darius, and yet, Madam, they would not be of their religion; for the three children said: “We make it known unto thee, O King, that we will not worship thy Gods.” Daniel did pray publicly unto his God against the expressed commandment of the King. And so, Madam, ye may perceive that subjects are not bound to

¹ When Knox was credited by his followers with prophetic gifts, he replied: ‘My assurances are not marvels of Merlin, nor yet the dark sentences of profane prophecies. But *first*, the plain truth of God’s Word, *second*, the invincible justice of the everlasting God, and *third*, the ordinary course of His punishments and plagues from the beginning, are my assurances and grounds.’
—*Faithful Admonition to the Professors of God’s Truth in England.*

the religion of their princes, although they are commanded to give them obedience.'

Queen Mary. 'Yea, but none of these men raised the sword against their princes.'

John Knox. 'Yet, Madam, ye can not deny that they resisted, for those who obey not the commandments that are given, in some sort resist.'

Queen Mary. 'But yet, they resisted not by the sword?'

John Knox. 'God, Madam, had not given them the power and the means.'

Queen Mary. 'Think ye that subjects, having the power, may resist their princes?'

John Knox. 'If their princes exceed their bounds, Madam, no doubt they may be resisted, even by power. For there is neither greater honour, nor greater obedience, to be given to kings or princes, than God hath commanded to be given unto father and mother. But the father may be stricken with a frenzy, in which he would slay his children. If the children arise, join themselves together, apprehend the father, take the sword from him, bind his hands, and keep him in prison till his frenzy be overpast—think ye, Madam, that the children do any wrong? It is even so, Madam, with princes that would murder the children of God that are subjects unto them. Their blind zeal is nothing but a very mad frenzy, and therefore, to take the sword from them, to bind their hands, and to cast them into prison, till they be brought to a more sober mind, is no disobedience against princes, but just obedience, because it agreeth with the will of God.'

At these words, the Queen stood as it were amazed, more than the quarter of an hour. Her countenance altered, so that Lord James began to entreat her and to demand, 'What hath offended you, Madam?'¹

¹ 'Knox's conduct to Queen Mary, the harsh visits he used to make in her own palace, to reprove her there, have been much commented upon. Such cruelty, such coarseness, fills us with indignation! On reading the actual

At length she said to John Knox : ' Well then, I perceive that my subjects shall obey you, and not me. They shall do what they list, and not what I command ; and so must I be subject to them, and not they to me.'

John Knox. ' God forbid that ever I take upon me to command any to obey me, or yet to set subjects at liberty to do what pleaseth them ! My travail is that both princes and subjects obey God. Think not, Madam, that wrong is done you, when ye are willed to be subject to God. It is He that subjects peoples under princes, and causes obedience to be given unto them. Yea, God craves of Kings that they be foster-fathers to His Church, and commands Queens to be nurses to His people. This subjection, Madam, unto God, and unto His troubled Church, is the greatest dignity that flesh can get upon the face of the earth ; for it shall carry them to everlasting glory.'

Queen Mary. ' Yea, but ye are not the Kirk that I will nourish. I will defend the Kirk of Rome, for it is, I think, the true Kirk of God.'

John Knox. ' Your *will*, Madam, is no reason ;¹ neither doth your *thought* make that Roman harlot to be the true and

narrative of the business, what Knox said and what Knox meant, I must say, one's tragic feeling is rather disappointed. They are not so coarse, these speeches : they seem to me about as fine as the circumstances would permit. Whoever reading these colloquies thinks they are vulgar insolences of a plebeian priest to a delicate, high lady, mistakes the purport and essence of them altogether. It was, unfortunately, not possible to be polite with the Queen of Scots, unless one proved untrue to the Nation and Cause of Scotland. A man who did not wish to see the land of his birth made a hunting-field for intriguing ambitious Guises, and the Cause of God trampled under foot of Falsehoods, Formulas and the Devil's Cause, had no method of making himself agreeable. The hapless Queen !—But the still more hapless country, if she were made happy !'—THOMAS CARLYLE in *Heroes and Hero-Worship*.

¹ ' For her own freedom of will and of way, of passion and of action, Mary cared much ; for her creed she cared something ; for her country she cared less than nothing. Elizabeth of England, so shamefully her inferior in personal loyalty, fidelity, and gratitude, was as clearly her superior on the all-important point of patriotism. Overmuch as she loved herself, Elizabeth did yet love England more.'—A. C. SWINBURNE in 'Mary Stuart' (*Encyclopædia Britannica*).

immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ. Wonder not, Madam, that I call Rome an harlot; for that Church is altogether polluted with all kind of spiritual fornication, as well in doctrine as in manners. Yea, Madam, I offer myself to prove, that the Church of the Jews which crucified Christ Jesus, was not so far degenerate from the ordinances which God gave by Moses and Aaron unto His people, when they manifestly denied the Son of God, as the Church of Rome is declined, and more than five hundred years hath declined, from the purity of that religion which the Apostles taught and planted.'

Queen Mary. 'My conscience is not so.'

John Knox. 'Conscience, Madam, requireth knowledge; and I fear that right knowledge ye have none.'

Queen Mary. 'But I have both heard and read.'

John Knox. 'So, Madam, did the Jews who crucified Christ Jesus read both the Law and the Prophets, and heard the same interpreted after their manner. Have ye heard any teach, but such as the Pope and his Cardinals have allowed? Ye may be assured that such will speak nothing to offend their own estate.'

Queen Mary. 'Ye interpret the Scriptures in one manner, and they in another. Whom shall I believe? Who shall be judge?'

John Knox. 'Ye shall believe God, that plainly speaketh in His Word; and further than the Word teacheth you, ye shall believe neither the one nor the other. The Word of God is plain in itself. If there appear any obscurity in one place, the Holy Ghost, which is never contrarious to Himself, explaineth the same more clearly in other places; so that there can remain no doubt, but unto such as obstinately will remain ignorant.'

'Take one of the chief points, Madam, which this day is in controversy betwixt the Papists and us. The Papists have boldly affirmed that the Mass is the ordinance of God,

and the institution of Jesus Christ, and a sacrifice for the sins of the quick and the dead. We deny both the one and the other. We affirm that the Mass, as it is now used, is nothing but the invention of man, and, therefore, is an abomination before God, and no sacrifice that ever God commanded. Now, Madam, who shall judge betwixt us two thus contending? It is no reason that either of the parties be further believed, than they are able to prove by insuspect witnessing. Let them prove their affirmatives by the plain words of the Book of God, and we shall give them the plea granted. What our Master Jesus Christ did, we know by His Evangelists; what the priest doeth at his Mass, the world seeth. Now, doth not the Word of God plainly assure us, that Christ Jesus neither said Mass, nor yet commanded Mass to be said, at His Last Supper, seeing that no such thing as their Mass is made mention of within the whole Scriptures?’

Queen Mary. ‘Ye are ower sair (*too hard*) for me, but if they were here whom I have heard, they would answer you.’¹

John Knox. ‘Madam, would to God that the learnedest Papist in Europe, and he that ye would best believe, were present with Your Grace to sustain the argument; and that ye would patiently abide to hear the matter reasoned to the end! Then, I doubt not, Madam, but ye should hear the vanity of the Papistical Religion, and how small ground it hath within the Word of God.’

¹ Queen Mary was well able to hold her own in discussion. Thus Randolph wrote to Cecil from Edinburgh, on 4th September 1563:—‘The first of this instant I dined with the Lord of Murray and the Laird of Lethington. I received many good words, and gave as many. We repaired after dinner all together to the Queen. At good length, I declared my Sovereign’s mind given me in my instructions, in uttering whereof, many interruptions were made by the Queen herself, and many questions demanded, so that scarce in one hour I could utter that that might have been spoken in one quarter.’

Queen Mary. 'Well, ye may perchance get that sooner than ye believe.'

John Knox. 'Assuredly, if ever I get that in my life, I get it sooner than I believe. The ignorant Papists can not patiently reason, and the learned and crafty Papist will never come in your audience, Madam, to have the ground of their religion searched out. They know that they are never able to sustain an argument, except fire and sword and their own laws be judges.'

Queen Mary. 'So say you; but I can[not] believe that.'

John Knox. 'It hath been so to this day. How oft have the Papists in this and other Realms been required to come to conference, and yet could it never be obtained, unless themselves were admitted for Judges. Therefore, Madam, I must say again that they dare never dispute, but when they themselves are both judge and party. Whensoever ye shall let me see the contrary, I shall grant myself to have been deceived in that point.'

With this, the Queen was called upon to dinner, for it was afternoon. At departing, John Knox said unto her: 'I pray God, Madam, that ye may be as blessed within the Commonwealth of Scotland, if it be the pleasure of God, as ever Deborah was in the Commonwealth of Israel.'

Of this long conference, whereof we only touch a part, were diverse opinions. The Papists grudged, and feared that which they needed not. The godly, thinking at least that the Queen would have heard the preaching, rejoiced; but they were all utterly deceived, for she continued in her Massing, and despised and quietly mocked all exhortation.

John Knox, his own judgment being by some of his familiars demanded, What he thought of the Queen? 'If there be not in her,' said he, 'a proud mind, a crafty wit, and

an indurate heart against God and His truth, my judgment faileth me.' ¹

¹ 'Master Knox spoke upon Tuesday with the Queen. He knocked so hardly upon her heart that he made her to weep. Well you know, there be of that sex that will do that, as well for *anger* as for grief! The bruit that he hath talked with the Queen maketh the Papists doubt what will become of the world! . . . Where Your Honour exhorteth us to stoutness, I assure you the voice of one man [John Knox] is able in one hour to put more life in us than five hundred trumpets continually blustering in our ears.'—*Randolph to Cecil*, 7th October 1561.

'The Queen neither is, neither shall be, of our opinion. In very deed her whole proceedings do declare that the lessons of the Cardinal [of Lorraine] are so deeply printed in her heart, that the substance and the quality are like to perish together. I would be glad to be deceived; but I fear I shall not. In communication with her, I espied such craft as I have not found in such age. Since, hath the Court been dead to me and I to it.'—*Knox to Cecil*, 12th October 1561.

'Whatsoever policy is in all the chief and best practised heads in France, whatsoever craft, falsehood or deceit there is in all the subtle brains in Scotland is either fresh in this woman's [Mary's] memory, or she can fett it (*bring it back*) with a wet finger.'—*Randolph to Cecil*, 27th October 1561.

'Master Knox hath written unto Your Honour his mind. I am not always of his opinion for his exact severity. Yet I find it doth most good.'—*Randolph to Cecil*, 7th September 1561.

CHAPTER II

FROM MARY'S STATE ENTRY INTO EDINBURGH ON 29TH
SEPTEMBER 1561, TO THE MARRIAGE OF THE EARL
OF MORAY IN FEBRUARY 1562.

THE Duke d'Aumale, the Queen's uncle, returned with the galleys to France. The Queen entered in her progresses, and in the month of September travelled from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, Stirling, St. Johnstoun (*Perth*), Dundee, St. Andrews, all which parts she polluted with her idolatry. The towns propined her (*gave her gifts*) liberally, and thereof were the French enriched. In the beginning of October,¹ she returned to Edinburgh, and at the day appointed she was received in the Castle. Great preparations were made for her entry into the town. In verses, in masking, and in other prodigalities, fain would fools have counterfeited France. Whatsoever might set forth her glory, she heard, and gladly beheld. The keys were delivered to her by a pretty boy, descending as it were from a cloud. The verses of her own praises she heard, and smiled.² But when the Bible was presented, and the praise thereof declared, she began thereat to frown: although for shame she could not refuse it. But

The Queen's
State entry
into Edin-
burgh, 1561.

¹ This is one of the few cases in which Knox gives a wrong date. Mr. Hay Fleming has shown that Mary's State entry was on 2nd September.

² These verses thus began :—

'Welcome our Sovereign! Welcome our native Queen!
Welcome to us your subjects great and small,
Welcome, I say, even from the very spleen,
To Edinburgh, your city principal!'

Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth iv. 287.

she did no better, for immediately she gave it to the most pestilent Papist within the Realm, to wit, to Arthur Erskine, Captain of the Guard. Edinburgh since that day hath reaped as they sowed!

The Devil now finding his reins loose, ran forward in his course; and the Queen took upon her greater boldness than she and Baal's bleating priests durst have attempted before. For upon Allhallow Day they blended up their Mass with all mischievous solemnity. The Ministers, thereat offended, in plain and public place, declared the inconveniences that thereupon should ensue. The Nobility were sufficiently admonished of their duties; but affection caused men to call that in doubt, wherein short before they seemed to be most resolute, to wit, 'Whether subjects might put to their hand to suppress the idolatry of their Prince?' Upon this question, convened in the house of Master James Macgill of Nether Rankeillor, the Lord James Stewart, the Earl of Morton, the Earl Marischall, Secretary Lethington, Sir John Bellenden, Justice Clerk, and the foresaid Master James, Clerk of Register. They all reasoned for the part of the Queen, affirming, 'That subjects might not lawfully take her Mass from her.' In the contrary judgment were the principal ministers, Master John Row, Master George Hay, Master Robert Hamilton, and John Knox. The conclusion of that first reasoning was, 'That the question should be formed, and letters directed to Geneva for the resolution of that Church,' wherein John Knox offered his labours. But Secretary Lethington, alleging that there stood much in the Information, said that he should write. But that was only to drive time, as the truth declared itself. The Queen's party urged, 'That the Queen should have her religion free in her own chapel, to do, she and her household, what they list.' The Ministers both affirmed and voted the contrary, adding, 'That her liberty should be their thralldom ere it was long.' But neither could reason nor threatening move

The Mass at
Holyrood on
All Saints'
Day, 1st No-
vember 1561.

the hearts of such as were creeping into credit. And so did the votes of the Lords prevail against the Ministers.

For the punishment of theft and of reaf (*ravage*), which had increased upon the Borders and in the South, from the Queen's arrival, was the Lord James made Lieutenant. Some suspected that such honour and charge proceeded from the same heart and counsel that made Saul make David captain against the Philistines! But God assisted him, and bowed the hearts of men both to fear and obey him. Yea, the Lord Bothwell himself at that time assisted him. Sharp execution was made in Jedburgh; for twenty-eight of one clan, and others, were hanged at that Justice Court. Bribes nor solicitation saved not the guilty, if he might be apprehended; and therefore God prospered the Lieutenant in that his integrity.

That same time the said Lord James spake the Lord Grey of England at Kelso, for good rule to be kept upon both the Borders, and agreed in all things.

Before his returning, the Queen upon a night took an affray in her bed, as if horsemen had been in the Close, and the Palace had been enclosed about. Whether it proceeded of her own womanly fantasy, or if men put her in fear, for displeasure of the Earl of Arran, or for other purposes, as for the erecting of the Guard, we know not. But the fear was so great, that the Town was called to the Watch. Lords Robert Stewart of Holyroodhouse, and John Stewart of Coldingham¹ kept the Watch by course. Scouts were sent forth, and sentinels were commanded, under pain of death, to keep their stations. Yet they feared where there was no occasion of fear; neither yet could ever any appearance or suspicion of such things be tried.

¹ 'The Lord John of Coldingham hath not least favour [at Court] with his leaping and dancing. He is like to marry the Lord Bothwell's sister. The Lord Robert consumeth with love of the Earl of Cassillis' sister.'—*Randolph to Cecil*, 24th August 1561.

Shortly after the return of the Lord James, there came from the Queen of England, Sir Peter Mewtas, with Commission to require the Ratification of the Peace made at Leith. His answer was even such as we have heard before, that she behoved to advise, and then she would send answer.

The Queen in
Council and
the Queen in
Court.

In presence of her Council, the Queen kept herself very grave, for under the dule-wead (*mourning garments*) she could play the hypocrite in full perfection. But as soon as ever her French fillocks (*giddy young women*), fiddlers, and others of that band, got the house alone, there might be seen skipping not very comely for honest women. Her common talk in secret was that she saw nothing in Scotland but gravity, which repugned altogether to her nature, for she was brought up in 'joyousitie.' So termed she her dancing, and other things thereto belonging.¹

The General Assembly of the Church approached, held in December 1561, after the Queen's arrival.² In this Assembly began the rulers of the Court to draw themselves apart from the society of their brethren, and to grudge that anything should be consulted upon, without their advice. Master John Wood [afterwards Secretary to the Earl of Moray], who before had shown himself very fervent in the cause of God, and forward in giving his counsel in all doubtful matters, plainly refused ever to assist the Assembly again, whereat many did wonder. The Courtiers drew unto them some of the Lords, and would

The General
Assembly of
1561.

¹ 'Mary Stuart had not one true friend, who could or would speak the word of reproof or warning. Her half-brother, Moray, was the tool of Elizabeth. Her husband, Darnley, was a selfish traitor. Her Secretary of State, Lethington, took upon himself the duties of that office that he might fathom her secrets and betray her policy to her enemies.'—*Mary Stuart*, by the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, of the Society of Jesus.

² This was the second meeting of what was originally called 'The Universal Kirk of Scotland,' now 'The General Assembly.' The first meeting was held on 20th December 1560, in the Magdalene Chapel, which still exists, in the Cowgate of Edinburgh, and at that meeting forty-two persons were present, of whom only six are described as ministers.

not convene with their brethren, as before they were accustomed, but kept themselves in the Abbey. The principal Commissioners of the Church, the Superintendents, and some Ministers, passed unto them, where they were convened in the Abbot's Lodging within Holyroodhouse; and both the parties began to open their grief. The Lords complained that the Ministers drew the Gentlemen into secret, and held Councils without their knowledge. The Ministers denied that they had done anything in secret, or otherwise than the Common Order commanded them; and accused the Lords—the flatterers of the Queen, we mean—that they kept not the Convention with their brethren, considering that they knew the Order, and that the same was appointed by their own advices, as the Book of Discipline, subscribed with the most part of their own hands, would witness. Some began to deny that ever they knew such a thing as the Book of Discipline; and called also in doubt, whether it was expedient that such Conventions should be or not. Gladly would the Queen and her Secret Council have had all assemblies of the godly discharged.¹

The reasoning was sharp and quick on either part. The Queen's faction alleged, that it was suspicious to Princes that subjects should keep conventions without their knowledge. It was answered, that without knowledge of the Prince, the Church did nothing. For the Prince perfectly understood, that within this Realm there was a Reformed Church, and that they had their appointed times of convention; and so, without knowledge of the Prince, they did nothing.

'Yea,' said Lethington, 'the Queen knew and knoweth it well enough. But the question is, whether the Queen alloweth such Conventions?' It was answered, 'IF THE

¹ 'O Lord! for Thy Great Name's sake, give unto us Princes that delight in Thy truth, that love virtue, hate impiety, and that desire rather to be soundly taught to their salvation, than deeeivably flattered, to their everlasting confusion. Amen.'—Knox's *Preface to Sermon preached before the Earl of Darndley on 19th August 1565*.

LIBERTY OF THE CHURCH SHOULD STAND UPON THE QUEEN'S ALLOWANCE OR DISALLOWANCE, WE ARE ASSURED NOT ONLY TO LACK ASSEMBLIES, BUT ALSO TO LACK THE PUBLIC PREACHING OF THE EVANGEL.' That affirmative was mocked, and the contrary affirmed. 'Well,' said the other, 'time will try the truth. But to my former words, this will I add, TAKE FROM US THE FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLIES, AND TAKE FROM US THE EVANGEL. Without Assemblies, how shall good order and unity in doctrine be kept? It is not to be supposed that all Ministers shall be so perfect, but that they shall need admonition as well concerning manners as doctrine. Some may be so stiff-necked that they will not admit the admonition of the simple. So also it may be that fault may be found with Ministers without just offence committed. Yet if order be not taken both with the complainer and the persons complained upon, many grievous offences shall arise. For remedy whereof, of necessity it is that General Assemblies must be, in which the judgment and the gravity of many may concur, to correct or to repress the follies or errors of a few.'

Hereunto consented the most part, as well of the Nobility as of the Barons, and willed the reasoners for the part of the Queen to will Her Grace, if that she stood in any suspicion of anything that was to be entreated in their Assemblies, that it would please Her Grace to send such as she would appoint to hear whatsoever was proponed or reasoned.

Hereafter was the Book of Discipline proponed, and desired to have been ratified by the Queen's Majesty. That was scripped (*mocked*) at, and the question was demanded, 'How many of those that had subscribed that Book would be subject unto it?' It was answered, 'All the godly.'

Secretary
Lethington
and the Book
of Discipline.

Secretary Lethington. 'Will the Duke?'

Lord Ochiltree. 'If he will not, I would that he were scraped out, not only of that book, but also out of our number and company. For to what purpose shall labours be taken to put the Kirk in order, and to what end shall men

subscribe, and then never mean to keep word of that which they promise?’

Secretary Lethington. ‘Many subscribed there *in fide parentum*, as the bairns are baptized.’

John Knox. ‘Albeit ye think that scoff proper, yet as it is most untrue, so is it most improper. That Book was read in public audience, and by the space of divers days the heads thereof were reasoned, as all that here sit know well enough, and ye yourself can not deny. No man was required to subscribe that which he understood not.’

Secretary Lethington. ‘Stand content. That Book will not be obtained.’

John Knox. ‘Let God require the lack, which this poor Commonwealth shall have of the things therein contained, from the hands of such as stop the same.’

The Barons,¹ perceiving that the Book of Discipline was refused, presented unto the Council certain articles, requiring

How the Protestant Ministers were to be sup- ported.	Idolatry to be suppressed, their Kirks to be planted with true Ministers, and some certain provision to be made for them, according to equity and conscience. Unto that time the most part of the Ministers had lived upon the benevolence of men. Many men held in their own hands the fruits that the Bishops and others of that sect had before abused; and some part was bestowed upon the Ministers. Then the Bishops began to grip again to that which most unjustly they called their own. The Earl of Arran was discharged of the benefices of St. Andrews and Dunfermline, wherewith before, by virtue of a factory (<i>mandate</i>), he had intromitted (<i>enjoyed the income</i>): and so were many others. Therefore, the Barons required that order might be taken for their Ministers, or else they would no more obey the Bishops, neither yet suffer anything more to be lifted up to their
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¹ David Buchanan's edition of 1644 has many stupid mistakes. One of the most unaccountable consists in substituting in this passage ‘Thomas Burrows’ for ‘the Barons.’

use after the Queen's arrival, than they did before. For they verily supposed that the Queen's Majesty would keep promise made unto them; which was, not to alter their religion, which could not remain without Ministers, and Ministers could not live without provision: and therefore they heartily desired the Council to provide some convenient order in that head.

That somewhat moved the Queen's flatterers; for the rod of impiety was not then strengthened in her and their hands. So began they to practise how they should please the Queen, and yet seem somewhat to satisfy the Faithful; and so devised they, that the Kirk-men should have intromission with two parts of their benefices, and that the third part should be lifted up by such men as thereto should be appointed, for such uses, as in subsequent Acts were more fully expressed.

When the Brethren complained of their poverty, it was disdainfully answered of some, 'There are many Lairds have not so much to spend.' Then men did reason that the vocation of Ministers craved of them books, quietness, study, and travail to edify the Kirk of Jesus Christ, while many Lairds were waiting upon their worldly business; and therefore, that the stipends of Ministers, who had none other industry but to live upon that which was appointed, ought not to be modified (*fixed*) according to the livings of common men who might, and did, daily augment their rents by some other industry.

In the meantime, to wit, in February 1562, was Lord James [Stewart, having been made Earl of Moray in January 1562] first made Earl of Mar, and then married upon Agnes Keith, daughter to the Earl Marischall. The marriage was public in St. Giles, the Church of Edinburgh; and in the marriage they both got an admonition to behave themselves moderately in all things; 'For,' said the preacher [John Knox] to him, 'unto this day the Kirk of God hath received comfort by you, and by your labours; in which, if hereafter ye shall be

Marriage of
the Earl of
Moray, and the
masking
thereat.

found fainter than ye were before, it will be said that your wife hath changed your nature.' The greatness of the banquet, and the vanity used thereat, offended many godly. There began the masking, which from year to year hath continued since.¹ Master Randolph,² agent for the Queen of England, was then, and some time after, in no small conceit with our Queen. For his Mistress's sake she drank to him in a cup of gold, which he possessed with greater joy, for the favour of the giver, than of the gift and value thereof; and yet it was honourable.

The things that then were in handling betwixt the two Queens, whereof Lethington, Secretary Cecil, and Master Randolph, were ministers, were of great weight, as we will after hear.

¹ James Melville tells us that John Knox, a year before his death, when resident at St. Andrews, was present at a theatrical performance given by the students of the University:—'This year [1571], in the month of July, Master John Davidson, one of our Regents, made a play at the marriage of Master John Colvin, which I saw played in Master Knox's presence, wherein, according to Master Knox's doctrine, the Castle of Edinburgh was besieged, taken, and the Captain, with one or two with him, hanged in effigy.'

² The sixth volume of Dr. Laing's edition of Knox's *Works* contains a letter from Knox to Randolph, with many enigmatical sentences in it, and many letters from Randolph to Sir William Cecil and others, with reference to Knox. Randolph's graphic letters to Sir William Cecil are among the most valuable sources of information for this period. He was on intimate relations with men of all parties, and no detail was too minute to escape record. For instance, he follows Darnley's movements through a certain Monday in 1565, and notes how on that day Darnley heard Knox preach, dined with Moray and Randolph, and after supper danced a 'galiarde' with the Queen at Moray's request.—*Foreign Calendar*, Elizabeth, vii. 304. Randolph played many parts in his long career. In Paris, he had been a companion of the Scottish Protestant students there. He was afterwards Master of Pembroke College, Oxford, and in his later years he filled the offices of Postmaster-General and Chancellor of the Exchequer. This is the only passage of the *History* in which his name occurs.

CHAPTER III

FROM THE EARL OF BOTHWELL'S MEETING WITH JOHN KNOX
IN MARCH 1562, TO MARY'S SECOND INTERVIEW WITH
JOHN KNOX AT HOLYROOD ON 15TH DECEMBER 1562.

[In March 1562] the Earl Bothwell¹ desired to speak with John Knox secretly in Edinburgh; which the said John gladly granted, and spoke the Earl upon a night, first in James Barroun's lodging, and thereafter in his own study. The sum of all their communication and conference was:—The Earl lamented his former inordinate life, and especially that he was provoked by the enticements of the Queen Regent to do that which he sore repented against John Cockburn, the Laird of Ormiston, whose blood was spilt, albeit not through his default. But his chief dolour was, that he had misbehaved himself against the Earl of Arran, whose favour he was most

The Earls of
Bothwell and
Arran, and
John Knox.

¹ 'The Earl of Bothwell is departed to return into Scotland, and hath made boast that he will do great things, and live in Scotland in despite of all men. He is a glorious (*boastful*), rash, and hazardous young man; and, therefore, it were meet that his adversaries should both have an eye to him and also keep him short.'—*Sir Nicolas Throgmorton, English Ambassador in Paris, to Sir William Cecil*, 28th November 1560. Writing to Cecil in 1563, Randolph described Bothwell as 'the mortal enemy of England—false and untrue as a devil—a blasphemous and irreverent speaker both of his own Sovereign and of the Queen my mistress—one that the godly of this nation have cause to curse for ever.' Read along with this the letter from Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange, who was faithful to Mary's cause even unto death, to Lord Bedford, dated 20th April 1567:—'She [Mary, Queen of Scots] hath been heard to say that she careth not to lose [*though she lose*] France, England, and her own country for him [Bothwell], and shall go with him to the world's end in a white petticoat before she leave him!' At the date of this letter, only two months had elapsed from Darnley's murder, and Bothwell was one of his murderers.

willing to redeem, if possible it were that so he might; and he desired John Knox to give him his best counsel. 'If I might have my Lord of Arran's favour, I would wait on the Court with a page and a few servants, to spare my expenses.



46. John Knox's Study in his house at the Netherbow, Edinburgh. (See p. 293.)

Now I am compelled to keep, for my own safety, a number of wicked and unprofitable men, to the utter destruction of my living.'

To which John Knox answered, 'My Lord, would to God that in me were counsel or judgment that might comfort and relieve you! Albeit that to this hour it hath not chanced me to speak with your Lordship face to face, yet have I borne a

good mind to your House; and I have been sorry at my heart of the troubles that I have heard you to be involved in. For, my Lord, my grandfather, my goodsire (*maternal grandfather*) and my father have served your Lordship's predecessors, and some of them have died under their standards.¹ This is a part of the obligation of our Scottish kindness. But this is not the chief. As God hath made me His public messenger of glad tidings, so is my will earnest that all men may embrace it, which perfectly they cannot, so long as there remaineth in them rancour, malice, or envy. I am sorry that ye have given occasion unto men to be offended with you; but more sorrowful that ye have offended the Majesty of God, who by such means oft punisheth the other sins of men. Therefore, my counsel is, that ye begin at God, with whom if ye will enter into perfect reconciliation, I doubt not but He shall bow the hearts of men to forget all offences. As for me, if ye will continue in godliness, your Lordship shall command me as boldly as any that serve your Lordship.'

Lord Bothwell desired John Knox that he would tempt (*try*) the Earl of Arran's mind, if he would be content to accept him into his favour, which he promised to do. And so earnestly travailled the said John in that matter, that it was brought to such an end that all the Faithful praised God for that agreement. The greatest stay (*obstacle*) stood upon the satisfaction of John Cockburn, the Laird of Ormiston, who, besides his former hurt,² was, even in that same time of the comming,

¹ In this sentence we have all that is known of Knox's ancestors. They appear to have been vassals of the Earls of Bothwell. The battles referred to were probably Flodden and Sauchieburn, at both of which members of the Hepburn family were present. When Flodden was fought, Knox was eight years old. Whether his father fell on that 'unhappy field,' as Knox calls it (page 3), is not stated. But the then Earl of Bothwell, with his two grand-uncles, Sir Adam Hepburn and George Hepburn, Bishop of the Isles, were among the slain. The Earl commanded the reserve, and advanced so gallantly as nearly to have changed the fortunes of the day.

² Received in 1559, when Bothwell, at the instigation of the Queen Regent, attacked Cockburn, wounded him severely, and carried off £1000 sent by Queen Elizabeth to the Protestant leaders, which the Laird of Ormiston was carrying from Berwick.

pursued by the Earl Bothwell, his son, Master Alexander Cockburn having been taken by him, and carried with him to Borthwick Castle, but gently enough sent back again.

That new trouble so greatly displeased John Knox, that he almost gave over farther travailling for amity. Yet, upon



47. Arms of Earl of Bothwell.

the excuse of the Earl Bothwell, and upon the declaration of his mind, he re-entered in labours, and so brought it to pass, that the Laird of Ormiston referred his satisfaction in all things to the judgment of the Earls of Arran and Moray, to whom the Earl Bothwell also submitted himself, and thereupon delivered his handwrit. The Earl was conveyed by certain of his friends to the Lodging of the Kirk-of-field at Edinburgh, where the Earl of Arran was with his friends, and John Knox with him, to bear witness of the end of the agreement.

As the Earl Bothwell entered at the chamber door, and would have done those honours that friends had appointed—Master Gavin Hamilton, Abbot of Kilwinning, and Henry Drummond, the Laird of Riccarton, were the chief friends that communed—the Earl of Arran gently passed unto him, embraced him, and said, ‘If the hearts be upright, few ceremonies may serve and content me.’

John Knox, in audience of them both, and of their friends, said : ‘Now, my Lords, God hath brought you together by the labours of simple men. I know my labours are already taken in evil part. But I have the testimony of a good conscience before my God, that whatsoever I have done, I have done it in His fear, for the profit of you both, for the hurt of none,

and for the tranquillity of this Realm. Therefore, I the more patiently bear the misreports and wrongous judgments of men. And now I leave you in peace, and desire you that are the friends to study that amity may increase—all former offences being forgot.' The friends of both parties embraced each other, and the two Earls departed to a window, and talked by themselves familiarly a reasonable space. Thereafter the Earl Bothwell departed for the night; and next day returned in the morning, with some of his honest friends, and came to the sermon with the Earl of Arran; whereat many rejoiced. But God had another work to work than the eyes of men could espy.

The Thursday next [26th March 1562] they dined together; and thereafter the Earl Bothwell and Master Gavin Hamilton rode to my Lord Duke's Grace [Lord Arran's father], who then was in Kinneill. What communication was betwixt them, it is not certainly known, but by the report which the Earl of Arran made to the Queen's Grace, and unto the Earl of Moray, by his writings.

Upon Friday, the fourth day after their reconciliation, the sermon being ended, the Earl of Arran came to the house of John Knox, and brought with him Master Richard Strang Advocate, and Alexander Guthrie, the Town Clerk of Edinburgh, to whom he opened the grief of his mind before John Knox was called—for Knox was occupied, as commonly he used to be after his sermons, in directing of writings (*dictating to an amanuensis*). Which ended, the Earl called the three together, and said, 'I am treasonably betrayed'; and with these words began to weep.

John Knox. 'My Lord, who hath betrayed you?'

Earl of Arran. 'A Judas. But I know it is but my life that is sought: I regard it not.'

John Knox. 'My Lord, I understand not such dark manner of speaking. If I shall give you any answer, ye must speak more plain.'

Earl of Arran. 'Well, I take you three to witness that I

open this to you, and I will write it unto the Queen. An act of treason is laid to my charge. The Earl Bothwell hath shown to me in counsel, that he shall take the Queen, and put her into my hands in the Castle of Dumbarton; and that he shall slay the Earl of Moray, Lethington, and others, that now misguide her; and so shall I and he rule all. But I know this is devised to accuse me of treason; for I know he will inform the Queen of it. But I take you to witness, that I open it here unto you; and I will pass incontinent, (*forthwith*) and write to the Queen's Majesty, and unto my brother the Earl of Moray.'

John Knox. 'Did ye consent, my Lord, to any part of that treason?'

Earl of Arran. 'Nay.'

John Knox. 'Then, in my judgment, his words, albeit they were spoken, can never be treason to you. The performance of the fact depends upon your will, whereto ye say ye have dissented. So shall that purpose evanish and die of itself, unless ye waken it. It is not to be supposed that he will accuse you of that which he himself hath devised, and whereunto you would not consent.'

Earl of Arran. 'Oh, ye understand not what craft is used against me. It is treason to conceal treason.'

John Knox. 'My Lord, treason must import consent and determination, which I hear upon neither of your parts. Therefore, my Lord, in my judgment, it shall be more sure and more honourable to you to depend upon your own innocency, and to abide the unjust accusation of another, if anything follow thereof, as I think there shall not, than ye to accuse—especially after so late reconciliation—and have none other witnesses but your own affirmation.'

Earl of Arran. 'I know that he will offer the combat unto me; that would not be suffered in France; but I will do that which I have purposed.'

So the Earl departed, and took with him to his lodging the said Alexander Guthrie and Master Richard Strang.

From there was written a letter to the Queen's Majesty, according to the former purpose, which letter was directed with all diligence to the Queen's Majesty, who then was in Falkland.

The Earl of Arran rode after to Kinneill, to his father, the Duke's Grace. How he was entreated, we have but the common bruit ; but from thence he wrote another letter with his own hand, in cypher, to the Earl of Moray, complaining upon his rigorous handling by his own father, and by his friends ; and affirmed farther, that he feared his life, in case he got not sudden rescue. But thereupon he remained not, but broke the chamber wherein he was put, and with great pain passed to Stirling. Thence he was convoyed to the Hallyards, in Fife, where he was kept till the Earl of Moray came unto him, and convoyed him to the Queen, then in Falkland, who was sufficiently instructed of the whole matter. Upon suspicion conceived, she had caused apprehend Master Gawin Hamilton and the Earl Bothwell foresaid ; who, knowing nothing of the former advertisements, came to Falkland, which augmented the former suspicion.

The Earl of
Arran's in-
sanity.

Yet the letters of John Knox made all things to be used more circumspectly ; for he plainly did forewarn the Earl of Moray, that he espied the Earl of Arran to be stricken with frenzy, and therefore willed not ower (*too*) great credit to be given to his words and inventions. As he advertised, so it came to pass. Within few days the Earl's sickness increased. He devised of wondrous signs that he saw in the heaven ; he alleged that he was bewitched. Finally, he behaved himself in all things so foolishly, that his frenzy could not be hidden. Yet were the Earl Bothwell and the Abbot of Kilwinning kept in the Castle of St. Andrews, and convened before the Council, with the Earl of Arran, who ever stood firm, that the Earl Bothwell proponed to him such things as he advertised the Queen's Grace of. He stiffly denied that his father, the said Abbot, or friends, knew

anything thereof, either yet intended any violence against him ; but he alleged that he was enchanted so to think and write. Whereat the Queen, highly offended, committed him to prison, with the other two, first in the Castle of St. Andrews, and thereafter caused them to be convoyed to the Castle of Edinburgh. James Stewart of Cardonald, called Captain James, was evil bruited of, for the rigorous entreatment that he showed to the said Earl in his sickness, being appointed keeper unto him.

To consult upon these accusations, the whole Privy Council was assembled at St. Andrews, the 18th day of April 1562. There it was concluded that, in consideration of the former suspicion, the Duke, His Grace, should render to the Queen the Castle of Dumbarton, the custody whereof was granted him by Appointment, till lawful succession should be seen of the Queen's body. But will prevailed against reason and promises, and so was the said Castle delivered to Captain Anstruther, as having power from the Queen and Council to receive it.

Things having been ordered in Fife, the Queen returned to Edinburgh, and then began dancing to grow hot ; for her friends began to triumph in France. The certainty hereof came to the ears of John Knox, for there were some that showed to him, from time to time, the state of things. Amongst others, he was assured that the Queen had danced excessively till after midnight, because she had received letters that persecution was begun again in France, and that her uncles were beginning to steer their tail (*bestir themselves*), and to trouble the whole Realm of France.¹ Upon occasion of this text, 'And now understand, O ye kings, and be learned, ye that judge the earth,' he began to tax the ignorance, the vanity, and the despite of princes against all virtue, and against all those in whom hatred of vice and love of virtue appeared.

Second Inter-
view between
Queen Mary and
Knox, on 15th
December 1562,
at Holyrood.

¹ This refers to the persecution of the Huguenots.



48. John Knox's Dining-Room in his house at the Netherbow, Edinburgh. (See page 44.)

The report hereof having been made unto the Queen, John Knox was sent for.¹ Master Alexander Cockburn, eldest son of John Cockburn of Ormiston, who had been his scholar, and was very familiar with him, was the messenger, who gave him some knowledge both of the report and of the reporters. The Queen was in her bedchamber, and with her, besides the Ladies and the common servants, were the Lord James [the Earl of Moray], the Earl of Morton, Secretary Lethington, and some of the Guard that had made the report. He was called and accused, as one that had irreverently spoken of the Queen, and that travailled to bring her into hatred and contempt of the people, and that he had exceeded the bounds of his text. Upon these three heads, made the Queen herself a long harangue or oration. Thereto the said John answered as follows:—

‘Madam, this is oftentimes the just recompense which God giveth to the stubborn of the world. Because they will not hear God speaking to the comfort of the penitent, and for amendment of the wicked, they are oft compelled to hear the false reports of others, to their greater displeasure.’² I

¹ It has often been assumed that Knox forced his views on his Sovereign. This is a mistake. Knox never wrote Mary a letter, and she refused to hear him preach. She had four interviews with him—one at Lochleven, and three at Holyrood; and she presided at his trial for treason before the Privy Council. But, on each occasion, Knox attended in obedience to the Queen’s commands, and departed at her pleasure. He only spoke in reply to the Queen’s questions, and his attitude was defensive. While he did not disguise his views, his manner was calm; that of the Queen, when they disagreed, was either hysterical or insolent. Not even prudence could restrain what Mr. Algernon Swinburne calls ‘the terrible weapon of Mary’s bitter and fiery tongue.’—(‘Mary Stuart’ in *Encyclopædia Britannica*.)

² Knox’s voluminous writings contain only one sermon (*Works*, vol. vi. p. 229). Writing in 1565, in the preface to that sermon, he observes: ‘Wonder not that of all my study and travaill within the Scriptures of God these twenty years, I have set forth nothing in expounding any portion of Scripture. I consider myself rather called of my God to instruct the ignorant, comfort the sorrowful, confirm the weak, and rebuke the proud, by tongue and lively voice, in these most corrupt days, than to compose books for the age to come.

doubt not but it came to the ears of proud Herod, that our Master Christ Jesus called him a fox; but they told him not how odious a thing it was before God to murder an innocent, as he had lately done, causing to behead John the Baptist, to reward the dancing of a harlot's daughter. Madam, if the reporters of my words had been honest men, they would have reported my words, and also the circumstances of the same. But, because they would have credit in Court, and, lacking virtue worthy thereof, they must have somewhat to please Your Majesty, if it were but flattery and lies. For, Madam, if your own ears had heard the whole matter that I entreated; if there be in you any sparkle of the Spirit of God, yea, of honesty or wisdom, ye could not justly have been offended with any thing that I spake. And because ye have heard their report, please Your Grace to hear myself rehearse the same, as near as memory will serve.

‘After, Madam, I had declared the dignity of kings, the honour wherein God hath placed them, and the obedience that is due unto them, being God's Lieutenants, I demanded this question,—What account shall most Princes make before that Supreme Judge, whose authority so shamefully they abuse? Whilst murderers, oppressors, and malefactors dare be bold to present themselves before Kings, whilst the poor saints of God are banished, what shall we say, but that the Devil hath taken possession in the Throne of God, which ought to be fearful to all wicked doers, and a refuge to the innocent oppressed. How can it otherwise be? Princes despise God's law; His statutes and holy ordinances they will not understand. In fiddling and flinging (*dancing*) they are more exercised than in reading or hearing God's Most Blessed

I decreed to contain myself within the bounds of that vocation, whereunto I found myself especially called.’ Knox knew exactly the limitations of his powers. In his Epistle, written from the French galleys, to the Congregation of the Castle of St. Andrews, in 1548, he said: ‘Consider, Brethren, it is no speculative Theologue which desireth to give you courage, but even your brother in affliction.’

Word; and fiddlers and flatterers are more precious in their eyes than men of wisdom and gravity, who by wholesome admonition might beat down in them some part of that pride wherein we all are born, but which in Princes taketh deep root by wicked education.

‘Of dancing,¹ Madam, I said, that albeit in Scripture I find no praise of it, and in profane writers, it is termed the gesture rather of those that are in frenzy than of sober men; yet do I not utterly damn it, providing that two vices be avoided. The former, that the principal vocation of those that use that exercise be not neglected for the pleasure of dancing. Secondly, that they dance not, for the pleasure they take in the displeasure of God’s people. If any man, Madam, will say that I spake more, let him presently accuse me. I think I have not only touched the sum, but the very words as I spake them.’ Many that stood by did bare witness with John Knox that he had recited the very words that publicly he spake.

The Queen looked about to some of the reporters, and said: ‘Your words are sharp enough as ye have spoken them; but yet they were told to me in another manner. I know that my uncles and you are not of one religion, and therefore I cannot blame you, albeit you have no good opinion of them. But if you hear anything of myself that mislikes you, come to myself and tell me, and I shall hear you.’

‘Madam,’ quoth he, ‘I am assured that your uncles are enemies to God, and unto His Son Jesus Christ; and that for

¹ Hill Burton (*History of Scotland*, iv. 57) proves that the dancing practised in Mary’s Court merited and received condemnation for its indecency at the hands of those who had no objection to dancing in itself. A month before Rizzio’s murder, the Queen and her Maries and ladies, at the masque in honour of Rambouillet, who had brought the Order of the Cockle from France for Darnley, ‘were all clad in men’s apparel.’—(*Diurnal of Occurrences*, p. 87.) Knox’s views on dancing were really rather liberal than extreme. Archbishop Hamilton, whose morality was certainly not strait-laced, included dancing in his Catechism among the breaches of the Third Commandment of the Second Table.

maintenance of their own pomp, they spare not to spill the blood of many innocents.¹ Therefore, I am assured that their enterprises shall have no better success than others have had that before them have done what they do now. But as to your own person, Madam, I would be glad to do all I could to Your Grace's contentment, provided I exceed not the bounds of my vocation. I am called, Madam, to a public function within the Church of God, and am appointed by God to rebuke the sins and vices of all. I am not appointed to come to every man in particular to show him his offence; for that labour were infinite. If Your Grace please to frequent the public sermons, then doubt I not but you shall fully understand both what I like and mislike, as well in Your Majesty as in all others. Or, if Your Grace will assign unto me a certain day and hour when it will please you to hear the substance of the doctrine which is proponed in public to the Churches of this Realm, I will most gladly await upon Your Grace's pleasure, time and place. But to wait upon your chamber-door, and then to have no farther liberty but to whisper my mind in Your Grace's ear, or to tell you what others think and speak of you, neither will my conscience nor the vocation whereto God hath called me suffer it. For albeit at Your Grace's commandment I am here now, yet can I not tell what other men shall judge of me, that at this time of day am absent from my book, and waiting upon the Court.'

'You will not always be at your book!' said the Queen; and so turned her back. The said John Knox departed with a reasonable merry countenance; whereat some Papists, offended, said: 'He is not affrayed.' Which being heard of him, he answered: 'Why should *the pleasing face of a gentlewoman* affray me? I have looked in the faces of many

¹ Knox here alludes to the massacre of Protestants by the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, at the Castle of Amboise, of which Mary, Queen of Scots, had been an eye-witness.

ANGRY MEN, and yet have not been affrayed above measure.' And so left he the Queen and the Court for that time.¹

¹ Referring to this interview, Thomas Randolph, the English Ambassador, wrote to Sir William Cecil, on 16th December 1562:—'Upon Sunday last John Knox inveighed sore against the Queen's dancing, and the little exercise of herself in virtue or godliness. The report hereof being brought unto her ears yesterday, she sent for him. She talked long time with him. Little liking there was between them. Yet did they so depart as no offence or slander did rise thereupon. Knox is so full of mistrust in all the Queen's doings, words and sayings, as though he were either of God's privy counsel, that knows how He had determined of her from the beginning, or that he knew the secrets of her heart so well, that neither she did nor could have for ever one good thought of God or of His true religion.' At this time, Randolph seems to have believed in Mary's sincerity. Could he have seen her letters to the Pope referred to in a previous note, as well as those of Cardinal de St. Croix, which make it clear that, all the time she was offering toleration to the Scotch Protestants, she was also assuring the Pope, and the Courts of France and Spain, that she would effect no compromise with Protestantism, he would have earlier adopted Knox's view of Mary's character and conduct, and the policy which that view inspired.



49. The Palace of Holyrood House before the fire of 1650.
After Gordon of Rothiemay.

CHAPTER IV

FROM THE PROPOSAL OF A MEETING BETWEEN THE QUEENS
OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND AT YORK, IN 1562, TO MARY'S
THIRD INTERVIEW WITH JOHN KNOX AT LOCH-
LEVEN, ON 13TH AND 14TH APRIL 1563.

IN the meantime, the negotiation and credit was great betwixt the Queen of England¹ and our Sovereign: letters, couriers, and posts ran very frequent. Great bruit there was of the meeting of the two Queens at York, and some preparation was made therefor in both Realms. But that failed upon the part of England, and that by occasion of the troubles moved in France, as was alleged, which caused the Queen Elizabeth and her Council attend upon the south parts of England, for avoiding of inconveniences.²

Relations
between Mary
and Elizabeth.

¹ In a passage which want of space has compelled me to omit, Knox sums up Queen Elizabeth thus: 'She is neither good Protestant, nor yet resolute Papist!' This may be put alongside the description given of her by Sir William Cecil: 'If to-day she is more than man, to-morrow she is less than woman!'

² The reasons for the failure of the proposals for this meeting between the Queens are thus given in a letter from Randolph to Cecil, dated 31st March 1562:—'Some allege the hazard of herself [Queen Mary] and Nobles; many are loth for the charges; others say that amity being once made, her power will be the greater. Though in verity the charges will be great, and a hard matter to find so much gold that is current in England in men's hands in Scotland as will furnish this voyage, yet I know that this last point is more feared of many in Scotland, than either of the other two. The difficulty is for the exchange, seeing that there are many here that have great sums of silver that have little gold.' Schiller, in his tragedy of *Mary Stuart*, represents a meeting between Elizabeth and Mary; but it is certain that the two Queens never met.

That summer, there came Peter Groif an Ambassador from the King of Sweden, requiring marriage of our Sovereign to his Master the King. His entertainment was honourable; but his petition liked not our Queen one whit. 'Such a man was too base for her estate. Had not she been Great Queen of France? Fye of Sweden! What is *it*?' But

The King of Sweden proposes marriage to Mary, 1562.



50. Medallion of Queen Elizabeth. From the original in the British Museum.

happy was the man that of such a one was forsaken. Yet she refused not one far inferior to a virtuous King!¹

The Earl of Moray made a privy raid to Hawick upon the Fair-Day thereof, and apprehended fifty thieves; of which number were seventeen drowned; others were executed in

¹ King Eric xiv. was virtuous, but unfortunate. He was forced to abdicate in 1568; and he died from poison in 1578. When Knox wrote this sentence in 1566, he had in view one of the contemptible creatures whom Mary had married or had desired to marry—the feeble Francis, Dauphin of France, the effeminate and dissolute Lord Darnley, and the epileptic, half-witted Don Carlos. His language would have been still more severe could he have foreseen her marriage in the following year to the ruffianly and obscene Earl of Bothwell, her husband's murderer.

Jedburgh. The principals were brought to Edinburgh, and there suffered, according to their merits, upon the Borough Muir.¹ The Queen was nothing content of the prosperity and good success that God gave to the Earl of Moray in all his enterprises. She hated his upright dealing, and the image of God which evidently did appear in him; but at that time she could not well have been served without him. The Assembly of the Kirk at Midsummer, the 24th of June, anno 1562, approached, in which were many notable heads entreated concerning good order to be kept in the Kirk; for the Papists and the idolatry of the Queen began to trouble the former good order.

The Earl of
Moray's
success as
Lieutenant.

The interview of the two Queens having been delayed till the next year, our Sovereign took purpose to visit the North, and departed from Stirling in August 1562. Whether there was any secret paction and confederacy betwixt the Papists in the south, and the Earl of Huntly and his Papists in the north, or, to speak more plainly, betwixt the Queen herself and Huntly, we cannot certainly affirm: but the suspicions were wondrous vehement, that there was no goodwill borne to the Earl of Moray, nor yet to such as depended upon him at that time. The history we shall faithfully declare, and so leave the judgment free to the readers.

At Aberdeen, the Queen and Court remained certain days to deliberate upon the affairs of the country, where some began to smell that the Earl of Huntly was under gathering.

While things were so working in the North, the Earl Bothwell broke his ward, and came forth of the Castle of Edinburgh, the 28th of August 1562. Some say that he broke the stanchions of the window; others whisper, that he got easy passage by the yetts (*gates*). One thing is certain, to wit, the Queen was

The Earl of
Bothwell
breaks ward,
1562.

¹ 'Eighty-three were taken at Hawick, of the which twenty were acquitted by the assizes; the rest condemned, of the which, twenty-two were presently drowned there, *for lack of trees and halters*, [and] six hanged at Edinburgh, yesterday being Monday.'—*Randolph to Cecil*, 7th July 1562.

little offended at his escaping! There passed with him a servant of the Captain's, named James Porterfield. The Earl showed himself not very affrayed, for his common residence was in Lothian. The Archbishop of St. Andrews and Quintin Kennedy, son of the Earl of Cassillis, Abbot of Crossraguel, kept secret convention that same time in Paisley, to whom resorted divers Papists. Yea, the said Bishop spake the Duke, unto whom also came the Lord Gordon from the Earl of Huntly, requiring him 'to put to his hands in the South, as he should do in the North; and so it should not be Knox's crying nor preaching that should stay that purpose!' The Bishop, be he never so close, could not altogether hide his mind, but at his own table said: 'The Queen is gone into the North, belike to seek disobedience.' She may perchance find the thing that she seeks!' It was constantly affirmed, that the Earl Bothwell and the said Lord Gordon spoke together, but of their purpose we heard no mention.

That same year, and at that instant time, were appointed Commissioners by the General Assembly. To Carrick and Knox in Kyle and Galloway. Cunningham, was appointed Master George Hay, who, the space of a month, preached with great fruit in all the Churches of Carrick. To Kyle, and to the parts of Galloway, was appointed John Knox, who, besides the doctrine of the Evangel shown unto the Common People, forewarned some of the Nobility and Barons of the dangers that he feared, and that were appearing shortly to follow. He exhorted them to put themselves in such order as they might be able to serve the Authority, and yet not suffer the enemies of God's Truth to have the upper hand. Whereupon a great part of the Barons and Gentlemen of Kyle and Cunningham and Carrick, professing the true doctrine of the Evangel, assembled at Ayr; and after exhortations made, and conference had, subscribed a Bond to maintain and assist the preaching of God's Holy Evangel, now, of His mere mercy, offered unto this Realm.

These things done at Ayr, John Knox passed to Nithsdale

and Galloway, where, in conference with Sir John Maxwell of Terreglis, Warden of the West Marches, a man of great judgment and experience, he communicated with him such things as he feared. By his motion Sir John wrote to the Earl of Bothwell to behave himself as became a faithful subject, and to keep good quietness in the parts committed to his charge, and so would his crime of breaking of ward be the more easily pardoned. John Knox wrote unto the Duke's Grace, and earnestly exhorted him neither to give ear to John Hamilton, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, his bastard brother, nor yet to the persuasions of the Earl of Huntly. If he did, he assured him that he and his House should come to a sudden ruin.

By such means were the South parts kept in reasonable quietness during the time that the troubles were brewing in the North. Yet the Archbishop, and the Abbot of Crossraguel, did what in them lay to have raised some trouble. Besides the fearful bruits that they sparsed abroad—sometimes that the Queen was taken, sometimes that the Earl of Moray and all his band were slain, and sometimes that the Queen had given herself to the Earl of Huntly—the Archbishop, to break the country of Kyle, where quietness was greatest, raised the Crawfordds against the Reids for the payment of the Archbishop's Pasch fines. But that was stayed by the labours of indifferent (*impartial*) men who favoured peace.

The Abbot of Crossraguel required disputation of John Knox for maintenance of the Mass, which was granted unto him [in September 1562], and which held in Maybole three days. The Abbot had the advantage that he required, to wit, he took upon him to prove that Melchisedec offered bread and wine unto God, which was the ground that the Mass was builded upon to be a Sacrifice. But in the travail of three days there could no proof be produced for Melchisedec's oblation,—as in the Disputation, which is to be had

Disputation
between Knox
and the Abbot
of Crossraguel,
1562.

in print,¹ clearly may appear. The Papists constantly looked for a wolter (*overturn*), and therefore they would make some brag of reasoning. The Abbot, farther, presented himself to the pulpit, but the voice of Master George Hay so frightened him that after once he wearied of that exercise.²

After the Queen was somewhat satisfied of hunting and other pastime, she came to Aberdeen, where the Earl of Huntly and his Lady met her with no small train. He departed with the Queen to Buchan, met her again at Rothiemay, looking that she should have passed with him to Strathbogie. But in the journey certain word came to her that John Gordon had broken promise in not re-entering into ward; for his father the Earl of Huntly had promised that he should enter again within the Castle of Stirling and there abide the Queen's pleasure. Whether with his father's knowledge and consent, or without the same, we know not, but he refused to enter. This so offended the Queen that she would not go to Strathbogie, but passed through Strathisla to Inverness, where the Castle thereof was denied to her. The Captain was commanded to keep it, and looked for relief, for so had John of Gordon promised. But being thereof frustrate, the Castle was rendered, and the Captain, named Gordon, was executed; the rest were damned, and the hands of some bound, but they escaped.³

¹ 'The Copy of the Reasoning which was betwixt the Abbot of Crossraguel and John Knox, in Maybole, concerning the Mass. Imprinted at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprevik,' 1563. *Works*, vol. vi. p. 149.

² See '*The Confutation of the Abbot of Crossraguel's Mass*, set forth by Master George Hay. Imprinted at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprevik, 1563.' Dedicated 'To the Most Noble, Poteut, and Godly Lord James, Earl of Murray.'

³ Randolph, the English Ambassador, accompanied Mary on this expedition. His letters complain of the journey as being 'cumbersome, painful, and marvellous long; the weather [in August and September] extreme foul and cold; all victuals marvellous dear, and the corn that is, never like to come to ripeness.' In another letter he refers to this 'terrible journey both for horse and men. The country is so poor and victuals so scarce.' Mary, however, enjoyed the expedition thoroughly. 'In all these garboils'

Meantime, the troubles were hot in France, and the intelligence and outward familiarity betwixt the two Queens of England and Scotland was great. William Maitland of Lethington was direct with large commission both to the Queen of England and to the Guises. The marriage of our Queen was in all men's mouths. Some would have Spain [Don Carlos]; some, the Emperor's brother [Archduke Charles, brother of Maximilian the Second]; some, Lord Robert Dudley [the Earl of Leicester¹]; some, Duke de Nemours of the House of Savoy; and some unhappily guessed at the Lord Darnley. What Lethington's credit was we know not; but shortly after there began much to be talked of the Earl of Lennox (*Lennox*) and his son, the Lord Darnley. It was said that Lethington spoke the Lady Margaret Douglas, the Countess of Lennox, and that Robert Melville received a horse to the Secretary's use, from the Earl of Lennox or from his wife. Howsoever it was, Master Fowler, servant to the said Earl, came with letters to the Queen's Grace, by which licence was permitted to the Earl of Lennox to come to Scotland to travail in his lawful business. That same day that the licence was granted, the Secretary Lethington said: 'This day have I taken the deadly hatred of all the Hamiltons within Scotland, and have done unto them no less displeasure than if I had cut their throats.'

Proposals for
Queen Mary's
hand.

(*disorders*), Randolph writes to Cecil, 'I assure you I never saw her merrier, never dismayed, nor never thought that so much be in her that I find. She repented nothing, but—when the Lords and others at Inverness came in the morning from the watch—that she was not a man to know what life it was to lie all night in the fields, or to walk on the causeway with a jack (*coat of mail*) and a knapschalle (*headpiece*), a Glasgow buckler, and a broadsword!' This was no mere boasting. In a passage in the so-called Fifth Book of Knox's *History*, in which Mr. Hay Fleming thinks he can trace Knox's pen, it is recorded with admiration that when with her army at a time of extreme danger, 'albeit the most part waxed weary, yet the Queen's courage increased man-like so much that she was ever with the foremost.'

¹ See the remarkable letter from John Knox to the Earl of Leicester, written from Edinburgh, 6th October 1563, given in Dr. Laing's edition of Knox's *Works*, vol. vi. p. 530.

The Earl Bothwell, who before had broken ward, fearing apprehension, prepared to pass to France, but by storm of



51. Queen Mary and the Earl of Darnley. (See page 313.)
From an engraving in the British Museum.

weather was driven into England, where he was stayed, and was offered to have been rendered by the Queen of England. But our Queen's answer was: 'Lord Bothwell was no rebel,

and therefore she requested that he should have liberty to pass where it pleaseth him.' Thereto Lethington helped not a little, for he travailled to have friends in every faction of the Court. And so obtained the said Earl licence to pass to France.

The General Assembly of the Church, holden the twenty-fifth of December, the year of God 1562, approached, in which great complaints were made, that Kirks lacked Ministers; that Ministers lacked their stipends; and that wicked men were permitted to be Schoolmasters, and so to infect the youth. Among them, one, Master Robert Cumming, schoolmaster in Arbroath, was complained upon by the Laird of Dun, and sentence was pronounced against him. It was farther complained, that idolatry was erected in divers parts of the Realm; for redress whereof, some thought best that new supplication should be presented to the Queen's Grace. Others demanded, what answer was received of the former? The Superintendent of Lothian, Master John Spottiswood, confessed the deliverance of it, 'But,' said he, 'I received no answer.' It was answered for the part of the Queen—for her supposts (*adherents*) were ever there—'It was well known to the whole Realm what troubles had occurred since the last Assembly. Therefore, they should not wonder albeit the Queen had not answered. But betwixt that and the Parliament, which was appointed in May, they doubted not but such order should be taken, as all men should have occasion to stand content.' This satisfied, for that time, the whole Assembly. And this was the practice of the Queen and of her Council, with fair words to drive time.

The Papists at that Pasch, 1563, in divers parts of the Realm, had erected that idol, the Mass. The brethren, universally offended, and espying that the Queen, by her Proclamations, did but mock them, determined to put to their own hands, and to punish, for example of others. Some Priests in the West Land were apprehended, and intimation

The General
Assembly of
December 1562.

made unto others, as unto the Abbot of Crossraguel, the Parson of Sanquhar, and such, that they should neither complain to Queen nor Council, but, by such means as they might, should execute the punishment that God has appointed to idolaters in His law, wherever they should be apprehended.

The Queen stormed at the Brethren's freedom of speaking, but she could not amend it; they were of one mind, to

Third Inter-
view between
Queen Mary
and Knox, on
13th and 14th
April 1563, at
Lochleven.

maintain the Truth of God and to suppress idolatry. Therefore she began to invent a new craft. She sent for John Knox to come unto her at Lochleven, and she travailed with him earnestly two hours before her supper, that he would be the instrument to persuade

the people, and principally the Gentlemen of the West, not to put hands to punish any man for the using of themselves in their religion as pleased them. The other, perceiving her craft, willed Her Grace to punish malefactors according to the laws, and he durst promise quietness upon the part of all them that professed the Lord Jesus within Scotland. But if Her Majesty thought to elude the laws, he feared some would let the Papists understand that, without punishment, they should not be suffered so manifestly to offend God's Majesty.

'Will ye,' quoth she, 'allow that they shall take *my* sword in their hand?'

'The Sword of Justice,' quoth he, 'Madam, is *God's*, and is given to princes and rulers for one end, which, if they transgress, sparing the wicked and oppressing innocents, their subjects, who in the fear of God execute judgment, where God hath commanded, offend not God, neither do they sin that bridle Kings from striking innocent men in their rage. The examples are evident:—Samuel feared not to slay Agag, the fat and delicate King of Amalek, whom King Saul had saved. In this case I would earnestly pray Your Majesty to take good advisement, and that Your Grace should let the Papists understand that their attempts will not be suffered

unpunished. It shall be profitable to Your Majesty to consider what is the thing Your Grace's subjects look to receive of Your Majesty, and what it is that ye ought to do unto them by mutual contract. They are bound to obey you, and that not but in God: ye are bound to keep laws unto them. Ye crave of them service; they crave of you protection and defence against wicked doers. Now, Madam, if you shall deny your duty unto them, who especially crave that ye punish malefactors, think ye to receive full obedience from them? I fear, Madam, ye shall not.'

Herewith, the Queen, being somewhat offended, passed to supper. John Knox left her, informed the Earl of Moray of the whole reasoning, and departed, of final purpose to have returned to Edinburgh without any further communication with the Queen.

But before the sun-rising upon the morn, were two messengers directed to him—Wat Melville was one—commanding him not to depart until he spake with the Queen's Majesty. He met her at the hawking,¹ west of Kinross. Whether it was the night's sleep or a deep dissimulation locked in her breast that made her forget her former anger, wise men may doubt; but thereof she never moved word, but began divers other purposes, such as the offering of a ring to her by the Lord Ruthven.

Queen Mary. 'I cannot love Lord Ruthven, for I know him to use enchantment; and yet is he made one of my Privy Council.'²

John Knox. 'Whom blameth Your Grace thereof?'

Queen Mary. 'Lethington is the whole cause.'

John Knox. 'That man is absent for this present, Madam, and therefore I will speak nothing in that behalf.'

¹ Hawking appears to have been a favourite amusement of the Queen. The Royal Accounts contain several entries referring to it. For example, in April 1562, £20 was paid to 'two persons passing of Edinburgh to Shetland for hawks.'

² 'The Queen cannot abide Lord Ruthven; and all men hate him.'—*Randolph to Cecil*, 3rd June 1563.

Queen Mary. 'I understand that ye are appointed to go to Dumfries, for the election of a Superintendent to be established in that country?'

John Knox. 'Yes. Those quarters have great need, and some of the Gentlemen so require.'

Queen Mary. 'But I hear that the Bishop of Athens¹ would be Superintendent?'

John Knox. 'He is one, Madam, that is put in election.'

Queen Mary. 'If ye knew him as well as I do, you would never promote him to that office, nor yet to any other within your Kirk.'

John Knox. 'What he hath been, Madam, I neither know, nor yet will I enquire. In time of darkness, what could we do but grope, and go wrong, even as darkness carried us? But if he fear not God now, he deceives many more than me. And yet, Madam, I am assured God will not suffer His Church to be so far deceived as that an unworthy man shall be elected, where free election is, and the Spirit of God is earnestly called upon to decide betwixt the two.'

Queen Mary. 'Well, do as ye will, but that man is a dangerous man.'

And therein the Queen was not deceived: for the said Bishop of Athens had corrupted most part of the Gentlemen not only to nominate him, but also to elect him; which being perceived by the said John Knox, Commissioner, he delayed the election, and so was the Bishop frustrate of his purpose for that present. Yet was he at that time the man that was most familiar with the said John Knox in his house, and at table.

When the Queen had long talked with John Knox, and he

¹ Alexander Gordon, second son of the Master of Huntly and Jane, natural daughter of James IV. Gordon was Bishop of Galloway, and titular Archbishop of Athens. He and Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, and Robert Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, joined the Reformers. But it is doubtful whether any of these dignitaries, although presented by the Crown to the temporalities of their dioceses, had been consecrated by the Roman Catholic hierarchy. See Canon Bellesheim's *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*.

being oft willing to take his leave, she said, 'I have one of the greatest matters that have touched me since I came into this Realm, to open to you, and I must have your help in it.' And she began to make a long discourse of her sister, the



52. King James VI., by Zuccherò.
John Knox preached at his coronation in 1567.

Countess of Argyle, how that she was not so circumspect in all things as she wished her to be.¹

¹ Lady Janet Stewart, the Regent Moray's sister, a natural daughter of James the Fifth, married the fifth Earl of Argyle in 1554. She was one of the party at supper in Holyrood when Rizzio was murdered, on 9th March 1566; and she stood sponsor for Queen Elizabeth at the baptism of James VI. After a lengthened litigation, the Earl divorced her in 1573. She was buried in the Royal vault in Holyrood Abbey.

Queen Mary. 'Yet, my Lord her husband, whom I love, entreats her in many things not so honestly and so godly, as I think ye yourself would require.'

John Knox. 'Madam, I have been troubled with that matter before. Once I put such an end to it—that was before Your Grace's arrival—that both she and her friends seemed fully to stand content. She herself promised before her friends, that she should never complain to creature, till I should first understand the controversy by her own mouth, or else by an assured messenger. I now have heard nothing of her part; and therefore I think there is nothing but concord.'

Queen Mary. 'Well, it is worse than you believe. But do this much FOR MY SAKE, as once again to put them at unity. If she behave not herself as she ought to do, she shall find no favour of me. But, in any wise, let not my Lord know that I have requested you in this matter. I would be very sorry to offend him in that or any other thing. And now, as touching our reasoning yesternight, I promise to do as ye required. I shall cause summon all offenders; and ye shall know that I shall minister justice.'

John Knox. 'I am assured then that ye shall please God and enjoy rest and tranquillity within your Realm; which to Your Majesty is more profitable than all the Pope's power can be.'

And thus they departed.

This conference we have inserted to let the world see how deeply Marie, Queen of Scotland, can dissemble;¹ and how she could cause men to think that she bare no indignation

¹ 'The gifted pupil of the Italianised French Court, under her winning smile, and the bland courtesy which seemed also so full of candour, kept impenetrably hidden a subtle dissimulation, which was high art beside the clumsy cunning of Queen Elizabeth and her English advisers.' HILL BURTON'S *History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 258. Father Stevenson, Mary's apologist, admits that her maternal uncles of the House of Guise 'found it no difficult task to mould her character according to their own principles. The lessons which they taught the child were never forgotten by the woman and the Queen.'

for any controversy in religion, while yet in her heart there was nothing but venom and destruction, as shortly after did appear.¹

¹ There is a tradition that at this interview Queen Mary presented Knox with a watch, which has been preserved in the family of the late Mr. Thomson of Banchory, who claim descent from one of Knox's daughters. The watch, to which so picturesque a history is attributed, was exhibited in the 'Bishop's Castle' at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888.



53. Watch said to have been presented to John Knox by Queen Mary at Lochleven. (See note *supra*.)

CHAPTER V

FROM JOHN KNOX'S LETTER TO THE EARL OF ARGYLE,
WRITTEN BY ORDER OF QUEEN MARY ON 7TH MAY 1563,
TO MARY'S FOURTH INTERVIEW WITH KNOX AT
HOLYROOD, IN MAY OR JUNE 1563.

JOHN KNOX departed, and prepared himself for his journey appointed to Dumfries; and from Glasgow, on 7th May 1563, according to the Queen's commandment, he wrote a letter to the Earl of Argyle.

This bill was not well accepted of the said Earl; and yet did he utter no part of his displeasure in public, but contrarily showed himself most familiar with the said John Knox. He kept the diet, and sat in judgment himself, where the Bishop and the rest of the Papists were accused, as after follows.

The summonses were directed against the Massmongers with expedition, and in the straitest form. The day was appointed the 19th of May 1563, a day only
Trial of the
Massmongers,
1563. before the Parliament. Of the Pope's knights
compeared the Archbishop of St. Andrews, Malcolm Fleming, Prior of Whitehorn, Robert Crichton, Parson of Sanquhar, William Hamilton [Tutor] of Cammiskeyth, John Gordon of Barskeocht, with divers others. The Protestants convened whole to crave for justice. The Queen asked counsel of Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross and President of the Court of Session, and of the old Laird of Lethington—for the younger was absent, and so the Protestants had the fewer unfriends—who affirmed, 'That she must see her laws kept, or else she would get no obedience.'

So was preparation made for their accusations. The Archbishop, and his band of the exempted sort, made it nice (*demurred*?) to enter before the Earl of Argyle, who sat in judgment [as Hereditary Lord Justice-General]; but at last he was compelled to enter within the bar. A merry man, who now sleeps in the Lord, Robert Norwell, instead of the Bishop's cross, bare before him a steel hammer. At this the Bishop and his band were not a little offended, because the Bishop's privileges were not then current in Scotland, which day God grant our posterity may see of longer continuance than we possessed it!

The Archbishop and his fellows, after much ado and long drift of time, came in the Queen's will, and were committed to ward, some to one place, some to another. The Lady Erskine—a sweet morsel for the devil's mouth!—got the Bishops for her part. All this was done of a most deep craft, to abuse the simplicity of the Protestants, that they should not press the Queen with any other thing concerning matters of religion at that Parliament, which began within two days thereafter.

At the Parliament she obtained of the Protestants whatsoever she desired,¹ for this was the reasoning of many:—‘We see what the Queen hath done. The like of this was never heard of within the Realm. We will bear with the Queen. We doubt not but all shall be well.’ Others were of a contrary judgment, and forespake things, as after they came to pass, to wit, that nothing was meant but deceit; and that the Queen, how

The Parlia-
ment of 1563.

¹ ‘The Parliament began 26th May, on which day the Queen came to it in her robes and crowned; the Duke carrying the Crown, Argyle the sceptre, and Moray the sword. She made in English an oration publicly there, and was present at the condemnation of the two Earls, Huntly and Sutherland.’—*Randolph to Cecil*, 3rd June 1563. The trial of the Earls, which took place on 28th May 1563, must have been a ghastly affair, for Huntly had been dead for seven months. His rudely embalmed corpse was arraigned in Mary's presence at the bar of Parliament. A contemporary account says, ‘the coffin was set upright, as if the Earl stood upon his feet.’

soon that ever Parliament was past, would set the Papists at freedom : and therefore willed the Nobility not to be abused. But, because many had their private commodity to be handled at that Parliament, the common cause was the less regarded.

Such stinking pride of women as was seen at that Parliament was never seen before in Scotland. Three sundry days the Queen rode to the Tolbooth. The 'Vox Dianae,' first day she made a painted orison (*oration*); and there might have been heard among her flatterers, '*Vox Dianae!* The voice of a goddess and not of a woman! God save that sweet face!'¹ Was there ever orator spake so properly and so sweetly!

All things misliking the Preachers, they spoke boldly against the targetting of their tails (*bordering their gowns with tassels*), and against the rest of their vanity, which they affirmed should provoke God's vengeance, not only against these foolish women, but against the whole Realm; and especially against those that maintained them in that odious abusing of things that might have been better bestowed. Articles were presented for order to be taken for apparel, and for reformation of other enormities; but all was scripp'd (*mocked*) at. 'The Earldom of Moray needed confirmation, and many things were to be ratified that concerned the help of friends and servants. They might not urge the Queen,

¹ None of Mary's extant portraits, except perhaps that by François Clouet, now in the Hermitage Gallery, St. Petersburg (see p. 260), convey the beauty of feature and charm of expression spoken to by all her contemporaries, both friendly and hostile. The universal reports of Mary's beauty were very distasteful to Elizabeth. She could not conceal her jealousy even from Mary's ambassador, the shrewd Sir James Melville. In his Memoirs occurs one of the quaintest accounts of a royal interview to be found in all literature:—'The Queen of England enquired whether the Queen's [Mary's] hair or her's was best, and which of these two was fairest. I said that the fairness of them both was not their worst faults! But she was earnest with me to declare which of them I thought fairest. I said she was the fairest Queen in England, and ours the fairest Queen in Scotland! Yet she was earnest. I said the Queen of England was whiter, but our Queen was very leesome (*lovely*). She enquired which of them was of highest stature. I said, our Queen. Then she said the Queen was too high, and that herself was neither too high nor too low!'

for if they so did, she would hold no Parliament. What then should become of them that had melled (*meddled*) with the slaughter of the Earl of Huntly? Let that Parliament pass over, and when the Queen asked anything of the Nobility, as she must do before her marriage, then should the Religion be the first thing that should be established.' It was answered, That the poets and painters erred not altogether, that feigned and painted Occasion with a bald hind-head: for the first, when it is offered, being lost, is hard to be recovered again!

The matter fell so hot betwixt the Earl of Moray and some others of the Court, and John Knox, that familiarly after that time they spoke not together more than a year and a half; and the said John, by his letter, gave a discharge to the said Earl of all further intromission or care with his affairs.

Dispute
between Lord
Moray and
Knox.

He made unto him a discourse of their first acquaintance; in what estate he was when first they spoke together in London; and how God had promoted him, and that above man's judgment. In the end he made this conclusion, 'But seeing that I perceive myself frustrate of my expectation, which was, that ye should ever have preferred God to your own affection, and the advancement of His truth to your singular commodity, I commit you to your own wit, and to the conducting of those who better can please you. I praise my God, I this day leave you victor of your enemies, promoted to great honours, and in credit and authority with your Sovereign. If so ye long continue, none within the Realm shall be more glad than I shall be. But if after this ye decay, as I fear ye shall, then call to mind by what means God exalted you; which was neither by bearing with impiety, neither yet by maintaining pestilent Papists.'

This bill and discharge was so pleasing to the flatterers of the Earl, that they triumphed of it, and were glad to have got their occasion; for some envied that so great familiarity was betwixt the Earl and John Knox. Therefore, from the

time that they got once that occasion to separate them, they ceased not to cast oil in the burning flame, which ceased not to burn, till God by water of affliction began to, slocken it, as we shall after hear. But lest that they should altogether have been seen to have forsaken God—as in very deed both God and His Word were far from the hearts of the most part of the Courtiers in that age, a few excepted—they began a new shift, to wit, to speak of the punishment of adultery, and of witchcraft, and to seek the restitution of the glebes and manses to the Ministers of the Kirk, and of the Reparation of Churches. Thereby they thought to have pleased the godly that were highly offended at their slackness.

The Act of Oblivion passed, because some of the Lords had interest; but the Acts against Adultery, and for the Manses and Glebes, were so modified, that *no* law and *such* law might stand *in eodem predicamento*. To speak plain, no law and such Acts were both alike. The Acts are in print: let wise men read, and then accuse us, if without cause we complain.

In the progress of this corruption, and before the Parliament dissolved, John Knox, in his sermon before the Nobility, began to enter in a deep discourse of God's mercies which that Realm had felt, and of that ingratitude which he espied almost in the whole multitude, whom God had marvellously delivered from the bondage and tyranny both of body and soul. 'And now, my Lords,' said he, 'I praise my God, through Jesus Christ, that in your own presence I may pour forth the sorrows of my heart. Yea, yourselves shall be witness, if I shall make any lie in things that are bypast. From the beginning of God's mighty working within this Realm, I have been with you in your most desperate temptations. Ask your own consciences, and let them answer you before God, if I—not I, but God's Spirit by me—in your greatest extremity willed you not ever to depend upon your God, and

Knox's Sermon
in St. Giles
before the
Nobility.

in His name promised you victory and preservation from your enemies, if ye would only depend upon His protection, and prefer His glory to your own lives and worldly commodity. In your most extreme dangers I have been with you. St. Johnestoun, Cupar Muir, and the Craggs of Edinburgh, are yet recent in my heart; yea, that dark and dolorous night, wherein all ye, my Lords, with shame and fear left this town, is yet in my mind. God forbid that ever I forget it! What was my exhortation unto you, and what is fallen in vain of all that ever God promised unto you by my mouth, ye yourselves yet live to testify. Not one of you, against whom death and destruction were threatened, perished in that danger. And how many of your enemies hath God plagued before your eyes! Shall this be the thankfulness that ye shall render unto your God, to betray His cause, when ye have it in your own hands to establish it as ye please?

‘The Queen, say ye, will not agree with us! Ask ye of her that which by God’s Word ye may justly require, and if she will not agree with you in God, ye are not bound to agree with her in the Devil! Let her plainly understand so far of your minds, and steal not from your former stoniness in God, and He shall prosper you in your enterprises. But I can see nothing but a recoiling from Christ Jesus, so that the man that first and most speedily fleeth from Christ’s ensign, holdeth himself most happy. Yea, I hear that some say, We have nothing of our Religion established, neither by Law or Parliament! Albeit that the malicious words of such can neither hurt the Truth of God, nor yet us that thereupon depend, yet the speaker, for his treason against God committed, and against this poor Commonwealth, deserves the gallows. For our Religion being commanded, and so established by God, is accepted within this Realm in public Parliament. If they say that [the Parliament of 1560] was no Parliament, we must, and will say, and also prove, that that Parliament was as lawful as ever any that passed before it within this Realm. Yea, if

the King then living [Francis II.] was King of Scotland and France, and the Queen now in this Realm be lawful Queen of Scotland, that Parliament can not be denied.

‘Now, my Lords, to put end to all, I hear of the Queen’s marriage. Dukes, brethren to Emperors, and Kings, strive all for the best game; but this, my Lords, will I say—note the day, and bear witness after—whensoever the Nobility of Scotland professing the Lord Jesus, consent that an infidel—and all Papists are infidels—shall be head to our Sovereign, ye do so far as in ye lieth to banish Christ Jesus from this Realm. Ye bring God’s vengeance upon the country, a plague upon yourselves, and perchance ye shall do small comfort to your Sovereign.’

John Knox’s words and his manner of speaking were judged intolerable.¹ Papists and Protestants were both offended; yea, his most familiars disdained him. Placeboes (*parasites*) and flatterers posted to the Court to give advertisement that Knox had spoken against the Queen’s [proposed] marriage [with Don Carlos, son of Philip II. of Spain].² The Provost of Lincluden, Robert Douglas of Drumlanrig by surname, gave the charge that the said John

Fourth Inter-
view between
Queen Mary
and Knox, in
May or June
1563, at
Holyrood.

¹ ‘Men delighting to swim betwixt two waters have often complained upon my severity.’—*Knox to Cecil*, 7th October 1561. ‘The defection of them that have joined hands with impiety doth plainly declare that when they were with us they were but as corrupted humours within the body, which behoved to be expelled forth before the body could convalesce. Lament their fall, but follow not their trade! Be faithful and loving, one to another. Let bitterness and suspicion be far out of your hearts. Rejoice in the Lord that He hath counted you worthy to suffer for His Name’s sake. Pray for me, Brethren, that I may fight my battle lawfully to the end. The Lord Jesus preserve you now and ever! Amen.’—*Knox to his Brethren of the Church of Edinburgh*. From St. Andrews, 17th July 1571.

‘You know the vehemences of Master Knox’s spirit, which cannot be bridled, and that doth sometimes utter such sentences as cannot easily be digested by a “weak stomach.”’—*Maitland of Lethington to Cecil*, 25th October 1561.

² Lethington was in favour of this marriage, and pressed his views on De Quadra, the Spanish Ambassador to the Court of England. These views

should present himself before the Queen; which he did soon after dinner. The Lord Ochiltree, and divers of the Faithful, bore him company to the Abbey of Holyroodhouse; but none passed to the Queen with him in the Cabinet but John Erskine of Dun, then Superintendent of Angus and Mearns.

The Queen in a vehement fume, began to cry out, that never Prince was handled as she was.

Queen Mary. 'I have borne with you in all your rigorous manner of speaking, both against myself and against my uncles [the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine]. Yea, I have sought your favour by all possible means. I offered unto you presence and audience whensoever it pleased you to admonish me; and yet I cannot be quit of you! I vow to God, I shall be once revenged!'

With these words, scarcely could Marna, her secret chamber boy, get napkins to hold her eyes dry for the tears; and the howling,¹ besides womanly weeping, stayed her speech. The said John did patiently abide all the first fume, and, at opportunity, answered:—

John Knox. 'True it is, Madam, Your Grace and I have been at divers controversies, in which I never perceived Your Grace to be offended at me. But, when it shall please God to deliver you from that bondage of darkness and error in which you have been nourished for the lack of true

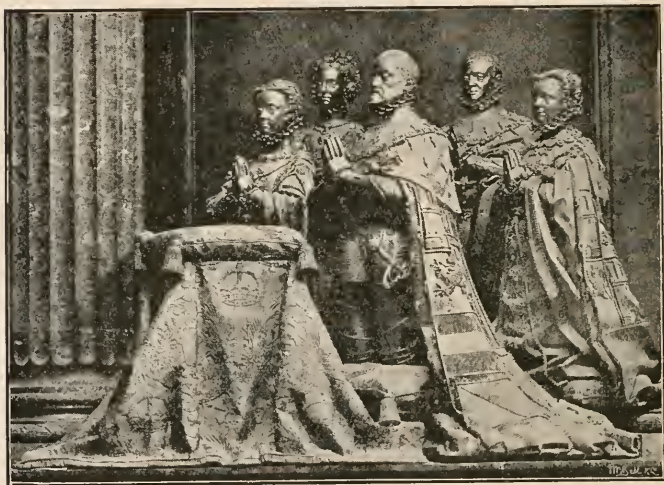
were thus reported by De Quadra to Philip II. of Spain:—'This Queen [Elizabeth] was in great fear of his [Don Carlos'] marriage, and the Queen of France the same, with very good reason, as, if your Majesty listened to it, not only would you give your son a wife of such excellent qualities as those possessed by his [Lethington's] Queen [Mary of Scots] who was in prudence, chastity and beauty, equalled by few in the world, but you also add to the dominions already possessed by your Majesty two entire islands, this and Ireland, the possession of which by your Majesty would give no trouble whatever.' Lethington reported to Queen Mary that he believed Don Carlos was 'very far in love with her.'

Compare *Macbeth*, Act iv. Scene 3:—

' . . . Each new morn

New widows *howl*, new orphans cry, new sorrows
Strike heaven on the face.'

doctrine, Your Majesty will find the liberty of my tongue nothing offensive. Without (*outside*) the preaching place, Madam, I think few have occasion to be offended at me. There, Madam, I am not master of myself, but must obey Him who commands me to speak plain, and to flatter no flesh upon the face of the earth.'¹



4. Philip II. of Spain, his 1st, 3rd, and 4th Wives, and his son Don Carlos, whose proposed marriage to Mary, Queen of Scots, was opposed by John Knox. (See page 328.) From the group by Pompeo Leoni, in the Escorial near Madrid.

Queen Mary. 'But what have ye to do with my marriage?'

John Knox. 'If it please Your Majesty patiently to hear me, I shall show the truth in plain words. I grant Your Grace offered unto me more than ever I required; but my answer was then, as it is now, that God hath not sent me to wait upon the courts of Princes, nor upon the chambers of

¹ 'The Regent, Earl of Morton, loved Master Knox while he was alive. At his death and burial he gave him an honourable testimony, "*that he neither fearit nor flatterit any flesh*"; and, after his death, was friendly to his wife and children.'—*Diary of JAMES MELVILLE*, 1556-1601.

Ladies ; but I am sent to preach the Evangel of Jesus Christ, to such as please to hear it. It hath two parts—Repentance and Faith. Now, Madam, in preaching Repentance, of necessity it is that the sins of men be so noted, that they may know wherein they offend. But the most part of your Nobility are so addicted to your affections, that neither God's Word, nor yet their Commonwealth, are rightly regarded. Therefore, it becometh me so to speak, that they may know their duty.'

Queen Mary. 'What have you to do with my marriage? Or what are *you* within this Commonwealth?'

John Knox. 'A SUBJECT BORN WITHIN THE SAME, Madam. And albeit I be neither Earl, Lord, nor Baron within it, yet hath God made me—how abject so ever I be in your eyes—a profitable member within the same. Yea, Madam, to me it appertains no less to forewarn of such things as may hurt it, if I foresee them, than it doth to any of the Nobility ; for both my vocation and my conscience crave plainness of me. Therefore, Madam, to yourself I say that which I spake in public place :—Whensoever the Nobility of this Realm shall consent that ye be subject to an unfaithful husband, they do as much as in them lieth to renounce Christ, to banish His truth from them, to betray the freedom of this Realm, and perchance they shall in the end do small comfort to yourself.'

At these words, howling was heard, and tears might have been seen in greater abundance than the matter required. John Erskine of Dun, a man of meek and gentle spirit, stood beside, and entreated what he could to mitigate her anger. He gave unto her many pleasing words of her beauty, of her excellence, and how all the Princes of Europe would be glad to seek her favour. But all that was to cast oil on the flaming fire. John Knox stood still, without any alteration of countenance for a long season ; while the Queen gave place to her inordinate passion.

In the end he said : 'Madam, in God's presence I speak.

I never delighted in the weeping of any of God's creatures. Yea, I can scarcely well abide the tears of my own boys whom my own hand correcteth; much less can I rejoice in Your Majesty's weeping. But, seeing I have offered to you no just occasion to be offended, but have spoken the truth, as my vocation craves of me, I must sustain, albeit unwillingly, Your Majesty's tears, rather than I dare hurt my conscience, or betray my Commonwealth through my silence.'¹

Herewith was the Queen more offended, and commanded the said John to pass forth of the Cabinet, and to abide her pleasure in the Chamber. The Laird of Dun tarried, and Lord John Stewart, Prior of Coldingham [the Queen's brother] came into the Cabinet, and they both remained with her near the space of one hour. John Knox stood in the Chamber, as one whom men had never seen—so were all affrayed—except that the Lord Ochiltree² bore him company.

¹ 'Knox was never in the least ill-tempered with Her Majesty. Mary often enough burst into tears, Knox standing with mild and pitying visage, but without the least hair's-breadth of recanting or recoiling, waiting till the fit passed, and then, with all softness, but with all inexorability, taking up his theme again. . . . Knox was no despiser of women—far the reverse, in fact. His behaviour to good and pious women is full of respect. His tenderness, his filial helpfulness in their suffering and infirmities (see the letters to his mother-in-law and others) are beautifully conspicuous.'—THOMAS CARLYLE. Others besides Knox had to choose between Mary's ready tears and their country's welfare. During the imprisonment of the Archbishop of St. Andrews in Edinburgh Castle, in 1563, Randolph wrote to Cecil on 19th June:—'Our pestilent Prelate, put in the Castle, made great moans unto the Queen for his deliverance, so far that he won her consent. The Lords were fain to resist her will as that the tears burst out, but nothing able to prevail.'

² In 1564, John Knox, at the age of fifty-nine, a widower with two little children, married Margaret Stewart, Lord Ochiltree's daughter, aged seventeen. 'Master Knox hath been twice proclaimed in the church to be married on Palm Sunday to Margaret Stewart, daughter to the Lord Ochiltree, WHEREAT THE QUEEN STORMETH WONDERFULLY: FOR MARGARET STEWART IS OF THE BLOOD AND NAME' [of the Royal House of Stuart].—*Randolph to Cecil*, 18th March 1564.

Margaret Stewart's brother, James Stewart, one of the basest men of his time, was created Earl of Arran by James VI. It was in answer to his insolent question, 'Who dare subscribe these treasonable Articles?' that Andrew

Therefore began he to forge talking with the ladies who were there sitting in all their gorgeous apparel; which espied, he merrily said, 'O, fair Ladies! How pleasing were this life of yours, if it should ever abide, and then in the end that we might pass to Heaven with all this gay gear! But fie upon that knave Death, that will come, whether we will or not! And when he hath laid on his arrest, the foul worms will be busy with this flesh, be it never so fair and so tender; and the silly Soul, I fear, shall be so feeble, that it can neither carry with it gold, garnishing, targetting, pearl nor precious stones!'¹ By such means procured he the company of women! And so he passed the time till the Laird of Dun willed him to depart to his house until new advertisement.

The Queen would have had the censement (*judgment*) of the Lords of the Articles, if such manner of speaking did not deserve punishment. But she was counselled to desist; and so that storm quieted in appearance, but never in the heart.

Melville, Knox's great successor, stepped forward in the King's presence, saying, 'WE DARE,' and subscribed the document in which the Church of Scotland protested against the King's attempt to usurp ecclesiastical supremacy. Knox's second marriage, like his first, was a very happy one. His contemporary, Thomas Smeton, Principal of the University of Glasgow, says that 'Margaret Stewart was a pious woman, who was extremely attentive to John Knox.' She had three daughters, Martha, married to Alexander Fairlie of Braid, Margaret, married to the Rev. Zachary Pout, and Elizabeth, the intrepid wife of the Rev. John Welsh, of Ayr. From these, any descendants of Knox now existing must trace their origin, Knox's two sons having died childless.

¹ 'This sentence of quaint and solemn moralizing may fairly match with Hamlet's over Yorick's skull.'—HILL BURTON'S *History of Scotland*, vol. iv.

CHAPTER VI

FROM SECRETARY LETHINGTON'S RETURN FROM ENGLAND
AND FRANCE, TO JOHN KNOX'S TRIAL FOR HIGH TREASON
AT HOLYROOD, IN DECEMBER 1563.

SHORTLY after the Parliament, Lethington returned from his negotiation in England and France. God, in the February before, had stricken that bloody tyrant the Duke of Guise, which somewhat broke the fard (*ardour*) of our Queen for a season. But shortly after the return of Lethington, pride and malice began to show themselves again. She set at liberty the Bishop of St. Andrews, and the rest of the Papists that before were put in prison for violating the laws. Lethington, at his return, showed himself not a little offended, that any bruit should have risen of the Queen's marriage with the [son of the] King of Spain. He took upon him to affirm that such thing never entered in her heart: but how true that was we shall after hear. The end of all his acquittance and complaint was to discredit John Knox, who had affirmed that such a marriage was both proponed, and, upon the part of our Queen, by the Cardinal of Lorraine accepted.¹ Lethington, in his absence,

¹ The Cardinal of Lorraine was a dangerous adviser, not only in the matter of Don Carlos, but in all questions affecting Mary's relations to England, to whose throne she was heiress presumptive. The most fatal step in Mary's whole career—an action which Elizabeth never forgave—was Mary's assumption, while Queen of Scotland and France, of the arms of England. This was believed to be due to the Cardinal of Lorraine.

had run into a very evil bruit among the Nobility for too much serving the Queen's affections against the Commonwealth. Therefore had he, as one that lacketh no worldly wisdom, made provision both in England and in Scotland. In England he travailled for the freedom of the Earl Bothwell, and by that means obtained promise of his favour. He had there also taken order for the homecoming of the Earl of Lennox, as we shall after hear. In Scotland he joined with the Earl of Athole. Him he promoted and set forward in Court; and so began the Earl of Moray to be defaced. Yet, to the said Earl, Lethington at all times showed a fair countenance.

The rest of that summer the Queen spent in her progress through the West Country, where in all towns and Gentlemen's places she had her Mass. Which coming to the ears of John Knox, he began that form of prayer which ordinarily he saith after Thanksgiving at his table: '1. Deliver us, O Lord, from the bondage of idolatry. 2. Preserve us from the tyranny of strangers. 3. Continue us in quietness and concord amongst ourselves, if Thy good pleasure be, O Lord, for a season.' Divers of the familiars of the said John asked him why he prayed for quietness to continue for a season, and not rather absolutely? His answer was, 'He durst not pray but in faith; and faith in God's Word assured him, that constant quietness could not continue in that Realm where idolatry had been suppressed, and then was permitted to be erected again.'¹

The Queen's
journeyings,
1563.

From the West country, the Queen passed into Argyle to the hunting, and after returned to Stirling. The Earl of Moray, the Lord Robert of Holyrood House, and Lord John of Coldingham, passed to the Northland. Justice Courts were holden; thieves and murderers were punished;

¹ 'Master Knox's prayer is daily for the Queen, "that God will turn her obstinate heart against God and His truth; or, if the Holy Will be otherwise, to strengthen the hands and hearts of His chosen and elect, stoutly to withstand the rage of all tyrants," in words terrible enough.'—*Randolph to Cecil*, 29th October 1561.

two witches were burned,—the eldest was so blinded with the Devil, that she affirmed, ‘That no Judge had power over her.’

Whilst the Queen lay at Stirling, with her idolatry in her Chapel, there were left in the Palace of Holyrood House certain dontibours (*loose characters*) and others of the French menyie (*crowd of followers*), who raised up their Mass more publicly than they had done at any time before. Upon the same Sunday that the Church of Edinburgh had the ministration of the Lord’s Table, the Papists in great number resorted to the Abbey to their abomination. Which understood, divers of the brethren, being sore offended, consulted how to redress that enormity. Certain of the most zealous and most upright in the Religion, were appointed to wait upon the Abbey, that they might note such persons as resorted to the Mass. Perceiving a great number to enter the Chapel, some of the brethren burst also in; whereat the Priest and the French dames being affrayed, made the shout to be sent to the town; and Madame Raulet [wife of the Queen’s French Private Secretary, predecessor of David Rizzio] posted on with all diligence to the Comptroller, the Laird of Pittarrow, who then was in St. Giles Kirk at the sermon, and cried for his assistance, to save her life, and to save the Queen’s Palace. He, with greater haste than need required, obeyed her desire, and took with him the Provost, the Bailies, and a great part of the Faithful. But when they came where the fear was bruited to have been, they found all things quiet, except the tumult they brought with themselves, and peaceable men looking to the Papists, and forbidding them to transgress the laws.

True it is, a zealous brother, named Patrick Cranston passed into the Chapel, and finding the Altar covered, and the Priest ready to go to that abomination, said, ‘The Queen’s Majesty is not here. How dare thou then be so malapert as openly

Charge of riot-
ing. John
Knox’s Letter.

to do against the laws?' No further was done or said, and yet the bruit hereof was posted to the Queen, with such information as the Papists could give, which found such credit, as their hearts could have wished for. This was so heinous a crime in her eyes, that satisfaction for that sin was there none without blood. Therefore, without delay were summoned Andrew Armstrong and Patrick Cranston, to find surety to underlie the law, 'for forethought felony, hamesucken, violent invasion of the Queen's Palace, and for spoliation of the same'!

These letters divulgate, and the extremity feared, Brethren—the few that were within the town—consulted upon the next remedy. In the end they concluded that John Knox, to whom the charge was given to make advertisements whensoever danger should appear, should write to the Brethren in all quarters, giving information as the matter stood, and requiring their assistance.

The Brethren, advertised by John Knox's bill, prepared themselves, so many as were thought expedient for every town and province, to keep the day appointed. But by the means of false brethren, the letter came to the hands of the Queen. The manner was this:—It was read in the Town of Ayr, where was present Robert Cunningham, 'Minister' [that is, Head of the Red Friars' Convent] of Failfurd, who then was holden an earnest professor of the Evangel. He, by what means we know not, got the said letter, and sent it with his token to Master Henry Sinclair, then President of the Seat and College of Justice, and styled Bishop of Ross, a perfect hypocrite, and a conjured enemy to Christ Jesus, whom God after struck according to his deservings. The said Master Henry—being enemy to all that unfeignedly professed the Lord Jesus, but chiefly to John Knox, for the liberty of his tongue—thinking himself happy that he had found so good occasion to trouble him, whose life he hated, posted the said letter, with his counsel, to the Queen, who then lay in Stirling.

The letter being read, it was concluded by the Council of the Cabinet, that is, by The Most Secret Council, that it Knox accused of treason, 1563. imported treason; whereat the Queen not a little rejoiced, for she thought once to be revenged of that her great enemy. It was concluded that the Nobility should be written for, that the condemnation should have the greater authority. The day was appointed about the midst of December, which was kept of the whole Council, and of divers others, such as the Master of Maxwell, the auld Laird of Lethington, and the said President.

In the meantime, the Earl of Moray returned from the North, to whom the Secretary Lethington opened the matter as best pleased him. The Master of Maxwell gave unto the said John Knox, as it had been a discharge of the familiarity which before was great betwixt them, unless he would satisfy the Queen at her own sight.

The answer of John Knox was: 'He knew no offence done by him to the Queen's Majesty, and therefore he wist not what satisfaction to make.'

Maxwell. 'No offence! Have ye not written letters desiring the Brethren from all parts to convene to Andrew Armstrong's and Patrick Cranston's day?'

Knox. 'That I grant; but therein I acknowledge no offence done by me.'

Maxwell. 'No offence to convocate the Queen's lieges?'

Knox. 'Not for so just a cause. Greater things were reputed no offence within these two years.'

Maxwell. 'The time is now other. *Then* our Sovereign was absent. *Now* she is present.'

Knox. 'It is neither the absence nor the presence of the Queen that rules my conscience, but God speaking plainly in His Word. What was lawful to me last year, is yet lawful; because my God is unchangeable.'

Maxwell. 'Well, I have given you my counsel. Do as ye list; but I think ye shall repent it, if ye bow not to the Queen.'

Knox. 'I understand not, Master, what ye mean. I never

made myself an adversary party to the Queen's Majesty, except in the head of religion ; and therein I think ye will not desire me to bow.'

Maxwell. 'Well, ye are wise enough ; but ye will find that men will not bear with you in times to come, as they have done in times past.'

Knox. 'If God stand my friend, as I am assured He of His mercy will, so long as I depend upon His promise, and prefer His glory to my life and worldly profit, I little regard how men behave themselves towards me. Neither yet know I wherein any man hath borne with me in times past, unless it be that of my mouth they have heard the Word of God, which in times to come, if they refuse, my heart will be pierced, and for a season will lament ; but the incommodity will be their own.'

After these words, whereunto Sir John Gordon, the Laird of Lochinvar, was witness, they departed. But unto this day, the 17th of December 1571, they met not in such familiarity as they had before.

The bruit of the accusation of John Knox being divulged, Master John Spens of Condie, [Lord] Advocate, a man of gentle nature, and one that professed the Doctrine of the Evangel, came, as it were in secret, to John Knox, to inquire the cause of that great bruit. To whom the said John was plain in all things, and showed unto him the double of the letter. Which heard and considered, he said : 'I thank my God. I came to you with a fearful and sorrowful heart, fearing that ye had done such a crime as laws might have punished, which would have been no small trouble to the hearts of all such as have received the Word of Life which ye have preached. I depart greatly rejoiced, as well because I perceive your own comfort, even in the midst of your troubles, as that I clearly understand that ye have committed no such crime as ye are burdened with. Ye will be accused ; but God will assist you.' So he departed.

*The opinion of
the Lord
Advocate.*

The Earl of Moray and the Secretary Lethington¹ sent for John Knox to the Clerk of Register's house, and began to lament that he had so highly offended the Queen's Majesty, which they feared should come to a great inconvenience to himself, if the business were not wisely foreseen. They showed what pains and travail they had taken to mitigate her anger; but they could find nothing but extremity, unless he himself would confess his offence, and put him in Her Grace's will. To which heads the said John answered as follows:—

'I praise my God, through Jesus Christ, I have learned not to cry Conjurament and Treason at every thing that the godless multitude doth condemn, neither yet to fear the things that they fear. I have the testimony of a good conscience, that I have given no occasion to the Queen's Majesty to be offended with me. I have done nothing but my duty, and so, whatsoever shall thereof ensue, my good hope is, that my God will give me patience to bear it. But to confess an offence where my conscience witnesseth there is none,—far be it from me.'

Secretary Lethington. 'How can it be defended? Have ye not made convocation of the Queen's lieges?'

John Knox. 'If I have not a just defence for my fact, let me smart for it.'

Earl of Moray and Secretary Lethington. Let us hear your defences. We would be glad that ye might be found innocent.'

John Knox. 'Nay, for I am informed—and that by divers, and even by you, my Lord Secretary—that I am already condemned, and my cause prejudged. Therefore, I might be reputed a fool, if I would make you privy to my defences.'

¹ The difference in manner between Moray and Lethington, who were acting together on this occasion, was indicated by Randolph in his description to Cecil of Mary's courtiers:—'With the Queen the Lord James dealeth according to his nature—rudely, homely, and bluntly; the Laird of Lethington, more delicately and finely.'—*Randolph to Cecil*, 24th October 1561.

At those words they seemed both offended; and the Secretary departed. But the Earl of Moray remained still, and would have entered into further discourse of the estate of the Court with the said John, who answered: 'My Lord, I understand more than I would of the affairs of the Court. It is not needful that your Lordship trouble you with the recounting thereof. If ye stand in good case, I am content. If ye do not, as I fear you do not already, or else ye shall not do ere it be long, blame not me. You have the counsellors whom ye have chosen. My weak judgment both you and they despised. I can do nothing but behold the end, which, I pray God, be other than my troubled heart feareth.'

Within four days the said John Knox was called before Queen Mary and the Privy Council [at Holyrood], between six and seven hours at night. The season of the year was the middle of December. The bruit rising in the town, that John Knox was sent for by the Queen, the brethren of the Kirk followed in such numbers, that the Inner Close was full, and all the stairs, even to the chamber door, where the Queen and Council sat. They had been reasoning among themselves before, but had not fully satisfied the mind of the Secretary. So the Queen had retired to her cabinet, and the Lords were talking each one with the other, as occasion served. But upon the entry, of John Knox, they were commanded to take their places, and so they did, sitting as Councillors one over against another.

Trial of Knox
for Treason
before the
Privy Council,
1563.

The Duke of Chatelherault, according to his dignity, began the one side. Upon the other side, sat the Earl of Argyle, and consequently (*in order*) followed the Earl of Moray; the Earl of Glencairn; the Earl Marischall; the Lord Ruthven; and the Common Officers, Sir John Wishart of Pittarrow, Comptroller, Sir John Bellenden, Justice-Clerk, and Master John Spens of Condie, [Lord] Advocate; and divers others stood by. Removed from the table sat old Lethington, father to the Secretary, Master Henry Sinclair, then Bishop of Ross and

President of the Court of Session, and Master James Makgill, Clerk of Register.

Things thus put in order, the Queen came forth, and with no little worldly pomp, was placed in the chair, having two faithful supports, Sir John Maxwell of Terregles, Master of Maxwell upon the one tor (*arm*), and Secretary Lethington on the other tor of the chair, whereupon they waited diligently all the time of that accusation, sometimes the one occupying her ear, sometimes the other. Her pomp lacked one principal point, to wit, WOMANLY GRAVITY; for when she saw John Knox standing at the other end of the table, bare-headed, she first smiled, and after gave a gawf of laughter. Whereat, when her placeboes gave their *plaudite*, affirming with like countenance, 'This is a good beginning,' she said, 'But wot ye whereat I laugh? Yon man gart me greet and grat never tear himself. I will see if I can gar him greet.'¹ At that word the Secretary whispered her in the ear, and she him again, and with that gave him a letter. After the inspection thereof, he directed his visage and speech to John Knox in this manner:—

'The Queen's Majesty is informed, that ye have travailled to raise a tumult of her subjects against her, and for certification thereof, there is presented to her your own letter, subscribed in your name. Yet, because Her Grace will do nothing without a good advisement, she hath convened you before this part of the Nobility, that they may witness betwixt you and her.'

'Let him acknowledge his own handwrit,' said the Queen, 'and then shall we judge the contents of the letter.'

And so was the letter presented from hand to hand to John Knox, who, taking inspection of it, said: 'I gladly

¹ 'That man made me weep, and wept never a tear himself. I will see if I can make him weep!' If Mary spoke to Knox in French at their previous interviews, it is clear that she used the Scots tongue on this occasion. She certainly knew it. Nicolas White, writing to Cecil in 1578, speaks of her 'pretty Scottish speech.'

acknowledge this to be my handwrit ; and also, I remember, I indited a letter in the month of October, giving signification to the Brethren in sundry quarters, of such things as displeased me. And, so good an opinion have I of the fidelity of the scribes that willingly they would not adulterate my original, albeit I left divers blanks subscribed with them, I acknowledge both the handwrit and the inditing.'

Secretary Lethington. 'You have done more than I would have done.'

John Knox. 'Charity is not suspicious.'

Queen Mary. 'Well! Well! Read your own letter, and then answer to such things as shall be demanded of you.'

John Knox. 'I shall do the best I can.'

So, with loud voice, John Knox began to read, as before is expressed.

After the letter was read to the end, it was presented again to Master John Spens; for the Queen commanded him to accuse, as he after did, but very gently. After, we say, the letter was read, the Queen, beholding the whole table, said: 'Heard ye ever, my Lords, a more despitiful and treasonable letter?'

When no man gave answer, Lethington addressed himself to John Knox, and said: 'Master Knox, are ye not sorry from your heart, and do ye not repent that such a letter hath passed your pen, and from you is come to the knowledge of others?'

John Knox. 'My Lord Secretary, before I repent, I must be taught my offence.'

Secretary Lethington. 'Offence! If there were no more but the convocation of the Queen's lieges, the offence can not be denied.'

John Knox. 'Remember, my Lord, there is a difference between a lawful convocation, and an unlawful. If I have been guilty in this, I have offended often since I came last to Scotland. What convocation of the Brethren hath ever been to this day in which my pen served not? Before this, no man laid it to my charge as a crime!'

Secretary Lethington. ‘Then was then, and now is now ! We have no need of such convocations as sometimes we have had.’

John Knox. ‘The time that hath been is even now before my eyes, for I see the poor flock in no less danger than at any time before, except that the Devil hath gotten a visor upon his face. Before, he came in with his own face, discovered by open tyranny, seeking the destruction of all that refused idolatry ; and then I think you will confess that the Brethren lawfully assembled themselves for defence of their lives. But now the devil comes, under the cloak of Justice, to do that which God would not suffer him to do by strength.’

Queen Mary (to the Privy Council). ‘What is this ? Methinks ye trifle with him. Who gave him authority to make convocation of my lieges ? Is not that treason ?’

Lord Ruthven. ‘No, Madam, for he makes convocation of the people to hear prayer and sermon almost daily ; and whatever Your Grace or others will think thereof, we think it no treason.’

Queen Mary (to Lord Ruthven). ‘Hold your peace ! Let him make answer for himself.’

John Knox. ‘I began, Madam, to reason with the Secretary—whom I take to be a better dialectician than Your Grace is—that all convocations are not unlawful. Now my Lord Ruthven hath given the instance, which if Your Grace will deny, I shall address me for the proof.’

Queen Mary. ‘I will say nothing against your religion nor against your convening to your sermons. But what authority have ye to convocate my subjects when you will, without my commandment ?’

John Knox. ‘I answer that at my own will I never convened four persons in Scotland, but, at the order the Brethren have appointed, I have given divers advertisements, and great multitudes have assembled thereupon. If Your Grace complains that this was done without Your Grace’s commandment, I answer, so has all that God has blessed within this Realm from the beginning of this action. Therefore, Madam,

I must be convicted by a just law, that I have done against the duty of God's messenger in writing this letter, before I be either sorry or yet repent for the doing of it, as my Lord Secretary would persuade me.'

Queen Mary. 'Ye shall not escape so. Is it not treason, my Lords, to accuse a Prince of *cruelty*? I think there be Acts of Parliament against such whisperers?'

That was granted by many.

John Knox. 'But wherein can I be accused of this?'

Queen Mary. 'Read this part of your own bill, which begins: "This fearful summons is directed against them," to wit, the Brethren who were indited, "to make, no doubt, preparation upon a few, that a door may be opened to execute *cruelty* upon a greater multitude." Lo! What say you to that?'

While many doubted what the said John should answer, he said unto the Queen: 'Is it lawful for me, Madam, to answer for myself? Or shall I be damned before I am heard?'

Queen Mary. 'Say what you can—I think you have enough ado!'

John Knox. 'I will first then desire this of Your Grace, and of this Most Honourable audience,—Whether Your Grace knows not that the obstinate Papists are deadly enemies to all such as profess the Evangel of Jesus Christ, and that they most earnestly desire the extermination of them, and of the True Doctrine that is taught within this Realm?'¹

The Queen held her peace; but all the Lords, with common voice, said: 'God forbid that either the lives of the Faithful, or yet the staying of the doctrine, stood in the power of the Papists! Just experience hath told us what cruelty lies in their hearts.'

¹ This was a direct challenge to Mary, and it was not met. There was much to confirm Knox in his original impression of her intentions, that, in the words of Mr. Froude (*History of England*, vi. 510), she was 'prepared to wait, to control herself, to hide her purpose, till the moment came to strike; yet with a purpose resolutely formed to trample down the Reformation.'

John Knox. ‘I perceive that all will grant that it were a barbarous cruelty to destroy such a multitude as profess the Evangel of Jesus Christ within this Realm. Oftener than once or twice they have attempted to do this by force, as things done of late days do testify, whereof they, by God and His Providence, being disappointed, have invented more crafty and dangerous practices, to wit, to make the Prince a party under colour of law. So what they could not do by open force, they shall perform by crafty deceit! Who thinks, my Lords, that the insatiable cruelty of the Papists—within this Realm, I mean—shall end in the murdering of these two brethren now unjustly summoned, and more unjustly to be accused? Therefore, Madam, cast up, when you list, the Acts of your Parliament; I have offended nothing against them, nor do I accuse in my letter Your Grace, nor yet your nature of cruelty. But I affirm yet again that the pestilent Papists, who have inflamed Your Grace without cause against those poor men, are the sons of the Devil, and therefore must obey the desires of their father, who has been a liar and a murderer from the beginning!’

One of the Lords. ‘Yon forget yourself; you are not now in the pulpit.’

John Knox. ‘I AM IN THE PLACE WHERE I AM DEMANDED OF CONSCIENCE TO SPEAK THE TRUTH, AND THEREFORE THE TRUTH I SPEAK, IMPUGN IT WHOSO LIST.¹ And hereunto I add, Madam, that natures honest, gentle and meek may, by wicked and corrupt counsellors, be subverted to the direct contrary. Nero, in the beginning of his empire, we find having some

¹ Take along with this, from page 175, another equally notable saying of Knox:—‘As for the fear of danger that may come to me, let no man be solicitous. My life is in the custody of Him whose glory I seek. Therefore I cannot so fear their boast or tyranny that I will cease from doing my duty, when of His mercy He offereth me the occasion. I desire the hand or weapon of no man to defend me. Only do I crave audience. Which, if it be denied here unto me at this time, I must seek further where I may have it.’ A sentence from a letter to his mother-in-law in 1553 breathes the same heroic spirit:—‘Never can I die in a more honest quarrel than to suffer as a witness of that Truth whereof God has made me a messenger.’

natural shame. But after his flatterers had encouraged him in all impiety, alleging that nothing was unlawful for his person who was Emperor ; when he had drunken of this cup, to what enormities he fell, the Histories bear witness. And now, Madam, to speak plainly, Papists and conjured enemies to Jesus Christ have Your Grace's ear patent at all times. I assure Your Grace they are dangerous counsellors, and that your Mother found.'

As this was said, Lethington smirked (*smiled*), and spake secretly to the Queen in her ear. What it was, the table heard not. But immediately she addressed her visage and spoke to John Knox :—' Well, you speak fair enough here before my Lords ; but the last time I spoke with you secretly, you caused me to weep many salt tears, and said to me stubbornly, that ye set nought by my greeting (*weeping*).'

John Knox. ' Madam, because now the second time Your Grace has burdened me with that crime, I must answer, lest for my silence I be holden guilty. If Your Grace be ripely remembered, the Laird of Dun, yet living to testify the truth, was present at that time whereof Your Grace complains. Your Grace accused me that I had irreverently handled you in the pulpit. That I denied. You said, What ado had I to speak of your marriage? What was I, that I should mell with such matters? I answered: As touching nature, I was a worm of this earth, and yet a subject of this Commonwealth ; but as touching the office whereinto it had pleased God to place me, I was a watchman, both over the Realm and over the Kirk of God gathered within the same ; by reason whereof I was bound in conscience to blow the trumpet publicly, so oft as ever I saw any appearing danger, either to the one or to the other. But a certain rumour affirmed that traffic of marriage was betwixt Your Grace and the Spanish ally. Thereupon I said, that if your Nobility and Estates did agree, unless both you and your husband should be so straitly bound, that neither of you might hurt this Commonwealth, or yet the pure

Kirk of God within the same, that, in that case, I would pronounce that the consenters were traitors to this Commonwealth, and enemies to God and to His promise planted within the same. At these words, I grant, Your Grace stormed,¹ and burst forth into an unreasonable weeping. What mitigation the Laird of Dun would have made, I suppose Your Grace hath not forgot. But while nothing was able to stay your weeping, I was compelled to say:—"I take God to record, that I never took pleasure to see any creature weep, yea, not my children when my own hands had beat them; much less can I rejoice to see Your Grace make such regret. But, seeing I have offered Your Grace no such occasion, I must rather suffer Your Grace to take your own pleasure before I dare conceal the truth, and so betray both the Kirk of God and my Commonwealth." These were the most extreme words that I spoke that day.'

After the Secretary had conferred with the Queen, he said, 'Master Knox, you may return to your house for this night.'

'I thank God and the Queen's Majesty,' said the other. 'And, Madam, I pray God to purge your heart from Papistry, and to preserve you from the counsel of flatterers; for how pleasant they appear to your ear and corrupt affection for the time, experience hath taught us into what perplexity they have brought famous Princes.'

John Knox being departed, the Table of the Lords, and others that were present, were demanded, every man by his vote, if John Knox had not offended the Queen's Majesty. THE LORDS VOTED UNIFORMLY THAT THEY COULD FIND NO OFFENCE. The Queen had passed into her Cabinet. The flatterers of the Court, and Lethington principally, raged.

¹ Strong as this expression is, it is the very word used by Randolph to Cecil in describing Mary's disapprobation of Knox's marriage to a scion of the Royal House (see p. 332). It is a curious instance of the irony of history that Mary's loudest grievance against Knox was his objection to *her* proposed marriage to Don Carlos of Spain.

The Queen was brought back again and placed in her chair, and they were commanded to vote over again. This thing highly offended the whole Nobility, and they began to speak in open audience :—‘What ! Shall the Laird of Lethington have power to control us ? Shall the presence of a woman cause us to offend God, and to condemn an innocent man against our consciences for the pleasure of any creature ?’ So the whole Nobility absolved John Knox again, and praised God for his modesty and for his plain and sensible answers. It is to be noted that among so many placeboes—we mean the flatterers of the Court—there was not one that plainly durst condemn the poor man that was accused, the same God ruling their tongue that ruled the tongue of Balaam when gladly he would have cursed God’s people.

This perceived, the Queen began to upbraid Master Henry Sinclair, then Bishop of Ross, and said, hearing his vote agree with the rest : ‘Trouble not the bairn, I pray you ; trouble him not, for he is newly wakened out of his sleep ! Why should not the old fool follow the footsteps of them that passed before him ?’ The Bishop answered coldly : ‘Your Grace may consider that it is neither affection to the man, nor yet love to his profession, that moved me to absolve him ; but the simple truth, which plainly appears in his defence, draws me after it, albeit that others would have condemned him.’

And this being said, the Lords and whole assisters arose and departed. That night was neither dancing nor fiddling in the Court, for Madam was disappointed of her purpose, which was to have had John Knox in her will by vote of her Nobility.

CHAPTER VII

FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY HELD AT EDINBURGH
IN 1563, TO THE RISE OF DAVID RIZZIO.

JOHN KNOX being absolved by the votes of the greatest part of the Nobility from the crime intended against him, even in presence of the Queen, she raged, and the placeboes of the Court stormed. So began new assaults to be made at the said John to confess an offence, and to put himself in the Queen's will. They promised that his greatest punishment should be but to go within the Castle of Edinburgh, and immediately to return to his own house. He answered: 'God forbid that my confession should damn those noble men who, of their conscience, and with displeasure of the Queen, have absolved me. Further, I am assured, ye will not in earnest desire me to confess an offence, unless therewith ye would desire me to cease from preaching. How can I exhort others to peace and Christian quietness if I confess myself an author and mover of sedition?'

The General Assembly of the Kirk approached, which began the 25th day of December 1563. Many wondered at the silence of John Knox at the Assembly. Knox's silence. The cause thereof he himself expressed in those words:—'I have travailled, Right Honourable and Beloved Brethren, since my last arrival within this Realm, in an upright conscience before my God, seeking nothing more, as He is my witness, than the advancement of His glory, and the stability of His Kirk within this Realm. Yet of late days I have been accused as a seditious man, and as

one that usurpeth unto himself power that becometh him not. True it is I have given advertisements unto the Brethren in divers quarters, of the extremity intended against certain Faithful for looking to a priest going to Mass, and for observing those that transgress just laws. But that I have usurped further power than is given unto me, till by you I be condemned, I utterly deny. I say, that by you—that is, by the charge of the General Assembly—I have as just power to advertise the brethren from time to time of dangers appearing, as I have to preach the Word of God in the pulpit of Edinburgh. By you I was appointed to the one and to the other; and therefore, in the name of God, I crave your judgments. The danger that appeared to me in my accusation was not so fearful as the words that came to my ears were dolorous to my heart. These words were plainly spoken, and that by some Protestants—"What can the Pope do more than send forth his Letters and require them to be obeyed?" Let me have your judgments, therefore, whether I have usurped any power to myself, or if I have but obeyed your commandment?"

The flatterers of the Court, amongst whom Sir John Bellenden, Justice-Clerk, was then not the least, began to storm, and said, 'Shall we be compelled to justify the rash doings of men?' 'My Lord,' said John Knox, 'ye shall speak your pleasure for the present. Of you I crave nothing; but if the Kirk that is here present do not either absolve me, or else condemn me, never shall I, in public or in private, as a public minister, open my mouth in doctrine or in reasoning.'

After long contention, the said John Knox being removed, the whole Kirk found, that a charge was given unto him to advertise the Brethren in all quarters as oft as ever danger appeared; and therefore avowed that fact not to be his only, but to be the fact of all. Thereat were the Queen's claw-backs (*sycophants*) more enraged than ever; for some of them had

Knox
acquitted by
the General
Assembly.

promised to the Queen to get the said John convicted, both by the Council and by the Church; and being frustrated of both, she and they thought themselves not a little disappointed.

God from heaven, and upon the face of the earth, gave declaration that He was offended at the iniquity that was committed within this Realm; for upon the 20th day of January 1564, there fell wet in great abundance, which in the falling froze so vehemently, that the earth was but one sheet of ice. The fowls both great and small froze, and might not flee: many died, and

Portents and
Prodigies.



55. Recumbent effigy of Mary, Queen of Scots, in Westminster Abbey.

some were taken and laid beside the fire that their feathers might resolve. And in that same month the sea stood still as was clearly observed, and neither ebbcd nor flowed the space of twenty-four hours. In the month of February, the 15th and 18th day thereof, were seen in the firmament battles arrayed, spears, and other weapons, as it had been the joining of two armies. These things were not only observed, but also spoken and constantly affirmed by men of judgment and credit. But the Queen and our Court made merry. There was banqueting upon banqueting. The Queen would

banquet all the Lords; and that was done upon policy, to remove the suspicion of her displeasure against them, because they would not at her devotion damn John Knox.

A little before the troubles, which Satan raised in the body of the Kirk, began Davie to grow great in Court. The Queen used him for Secretary, in things that appertained to her secret affairs in David Rizzio. France or elsewhere. Great men made court unto him, and their suits were the better heard. But of his beginning and progress, we delay now further to speak, because his end will require the description of the whole: And we refer it unto such as God shall raise up to do the same,¹

¹ On the margin of the 1566 ms. has been here added, probably by Knox's Secretary, Richard Bannatyne, after Knox's death, 'THIS WAS NEVER DONE BY THIS AUTHOR.'



56. Stone marking John Knox's Grave beside
St. Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh.



GLOSSARY

Abusers, corrupters, 27.
Afternoon's Pint, meal between dinner and supper, 247.
Aggreage, magnify, 166.
Allenarly, only, 137.
Allhallow Day, All Saints' Day, 1st November, 285.
Aposthume, abscess, 233.
Appointment, terms, agreement, 81.
Arguesyn, lieutenant, 95.
Bairn, pupil, 58.
Bedrell, bedridden, 136.
Bigged, built, 137.
Bill, letter, petition, 10, 93.
Birse, beard, 61.
Blockhouse, tower, fortress, 62.
Bond of Manrent, engagement to support, 60.
Boss, a term of contempt, 39, 53.
Bourding, jesting, 61.
Broillie, disturbance, 244.
Browst, brewing, 126.
Bruit, report, rumour, 25.
Buddis, bribes, 37.
Buffet, blow with the hand, 61.
Burn his bill, make recantation, 10.
Bul, without, except, 166.
Cassed, annulled, 118.
Censement, judgment, 333.
Chamber-child, or *chamber-boy*, valet, 5, 67, 329.
Chandler, candlestick, 186.
Chap, strike, 81.
Chynlay, grate, 68.
Clamed, seized, 91.
Clatters, tells tales, 3.
Clawback, sycophant, 351.
Clerk Play, Miracle Play, 57.
Commodity, advantage, 78.
Conclude, expect, 84.

Confer, compare, 74.
Confirmation of, proceeding with, 220.
Consequently, in order, 341.
Cordelier, Franciscan friar, 20.
Cordiner, shoemaker, 245.
Cowped up, turned up, 201.
Craig, neck, 47.
Crown of the Sun, a gold coin worth 18s., 245.
Cullurune, silly fellow, 25.
Culverin, firelock, 31.
Cummer, embarrassment, 185.
Cursing, excommunication, 8.
Dadding, knocking, 125.
Dagged, shot thickly, 31.
Dang, knocked, 79.
Deambulator, walk, 185.
Delation, accusation, 11.
Diet, custom, 59.
Discharged, deprived of, 290.
Divagation, wandering, 253.
Doctrine, teaching, 52.
Documents, signs, 21.
Dontibours, loose characters, 269, 336.
Dorture, dormitory, 179.
Doted, endowed, 243.
Dounthring, overthrow, 133.
Drift of time, lapse of time, 181.
Dulc-wead, mourning garments, 287.
Effeiring, belonging, 165.
Eke, add to, 55.
Enter in purpose, enter into conversation, 57.
Entrated, spoke of, 196.
Escheats disposed, forfeited estates given to others, 265.
Esperance, hope, 14.
Espials, spies, 207.
Expedition, haste, 42.

- Fact*, action, 177.
Factory, mandate, 290.
Falcon, a cannon, 221.
Falset, falsehood, 88.
Fard, ardour, 334.
Fashion, appearance, 59.
Fecallis, dependants, 50.
Fell, powerful, 113.
Fertour, chest, 124.
Fessued, fixed, 198.
Fett it, bring it back, 283.
Figure, effigy, 17.
Fillocks, giddy young women, 287.
Fleyed, frightened, 87.
Flinging, dancing, 303.
Floatboat, a pinnacle, 43.
Forenient, over-against, 26.
Forfalt, forfeit, 88.
Four Hours' Penny, meal between dinner and supper, 247.
Frack, ready, eager, 42, 90.

Gabion, basket filled with earth, 49.
Galiarde, a dance, 292.
Gar, make, 25.
Garboils, disorders, 312.
Gett, bastard, 102.
Girnell, granary, 179.
Glistre, lustre, 139.
Goodsire, maternal grandfather, 295.
Greet, weep, 342.

Hagbut, musket, 49.
Hagbut of Croek, short musket, 221.
Haud, keep, 54.
Herschip, plundering, 29.
Horning, outlawry, 162.
How, underground, 10.

Improved, disproved, 273.
Incontinent, forthwith, 30.
Indifferent, impartial, 105.
Indurate, hardened, 22.
Injyne, genius, 20.
Inhabill, unfit, 228.
Intromissions, dealings, 89, 290.
Ish, go out, 81.

Jack, quilted garment for defence, coat of mail, 84, 313.
Jackmen, armed retainers, 8.
Jefwellis, a term of opprobrium, 28, 122.
Jow, ring, 11.

Kist, chest, 67.
Knap, to break, 61.
Knapsehalle, headpiece, 313.
Kythed, exhibited, 25.

Lare, sink, 31.
Lavaere, washing, 153.
Leasings, lies, 244.
Leesome, lovely, 324.
Lentran, Lent, 11.
Lese-majesty, treason, 61.
Let, hinder, 208.

Malapert, presumptuous, insolent, 161.
Maleson, curse, 10.
Marmoset, monkey, 124.
Marrow, match, companion, 32.
Master, tutor, 60.
Maun, must, 24.
Melled, meddled, 325.
Menyie, crowd, 269.
Modified, fixed, 291.
Morion, helmet, 201.
Myster, need, 77.

Neffs and neffelling, fists and fisticuffing, 61.
Nice, foolish, 323.
Nor, than, 8.

Over sair, too hard, 281.

Pack you, get you gone, 28.
Palyeon, pavilion, 120.
Paucks, cunning, 93.
Pasch, Easter, 37.
Pasquil, lampoon, 118.
Patents, writings, 109.
Patron, skipper, 95.
Placeboes, parasites or flatterers, 8.
Platt, cast, 16.
Pley, dispute, 126.
Pock, bag, 51.
Poise, money, treasure, 33, 247.
Pottinger, apothecary, 126.
Pricker, light horseman, 84.
Propined, gave gifts, 284.

Quit him a commoun, encounter him, 197.

Ray, sail-yard, 44.
Rede, advise, 122.
Reaf, ravage, 285.

Reduced, brought back, 153, 262.
Rock, smoke, 10.
Regiment, rule, command, 3, 31.
Remord, cause remorse, 59.
Resteth, remaineth, 76.
Rive, tear, 169.
Rochet, surplice, 61.
Rood, cross, 16.
Rowp, cry hoarsely, 37, 121.
Ruse, boast, 107.
Ryngzeane, Ninian, 37.

Sacrate, constituted, 145, 149.
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Scaith, injury, 51.
Scarcely, scantily, 200.
Schybaldis, mean fellows, 198.
Scrip, mock, 48, 120.
Security, confidence, 217.
Seinze, Synod, 66.
Shaveling, churchman with shaven crown, 74.
Side gown, long gown, 61.
Silly, weak, 249, 333.
Skeife of an army, well-provided army, 79.
Slockened, quenched, 30.
Sloghorne, slogan, war-cry, 31.
Smaikis, mean fellows, 24.
Smirked, smiled, 347.
Sned, lop off, 75.
Sparsed, spread abroad, 118.
Speir, inquire, 106.
Spuilzeing, plundering, 103.
Spunk, spark, 32.
Spurtill, porridge-stick, 9.
Stammered, staggered, 198.
Stark, strong, 68, 137.
Stay, obstacle, 96, 295.

Steir their tails, bestir themselves, 300.
Stog sword, a stabbing sword, 69, 180.
Stowth, theft, 263.
Strengths, strongholds, 50.
Suited, petitioned, 140.
Supposts, adherents, 315.
Surfeit, immoderate, 267.

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Tabour, small drum, 124.
Tane, taken, 33.
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Tinscl, loss, 150.
Tint, lost, 31.
Tor, arm, 342.
Transc, passage, 81.
Travail, work, 47.

Unkent, unknown, 25.
Upaland, in the country, 251.

Vassclage, feats of arms, 51.
Vilipend, abuse, slight, 9.

Walkryfe, watchful, 24.
While, until, 22.
Whinger, sword, 28.
Win, get, 221.
Without, beyond, outside of, 80, 81.
Wolter, overturn, 312.
Wreche, covetous person, 235.
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2. The policy adopted is to give a carefully considered account of the subjects dealt with, based on and starting from the latest that has been written on the subject by the leading scholars, rather than to attempt to calculate the average opinion in the world of Biblical studies.

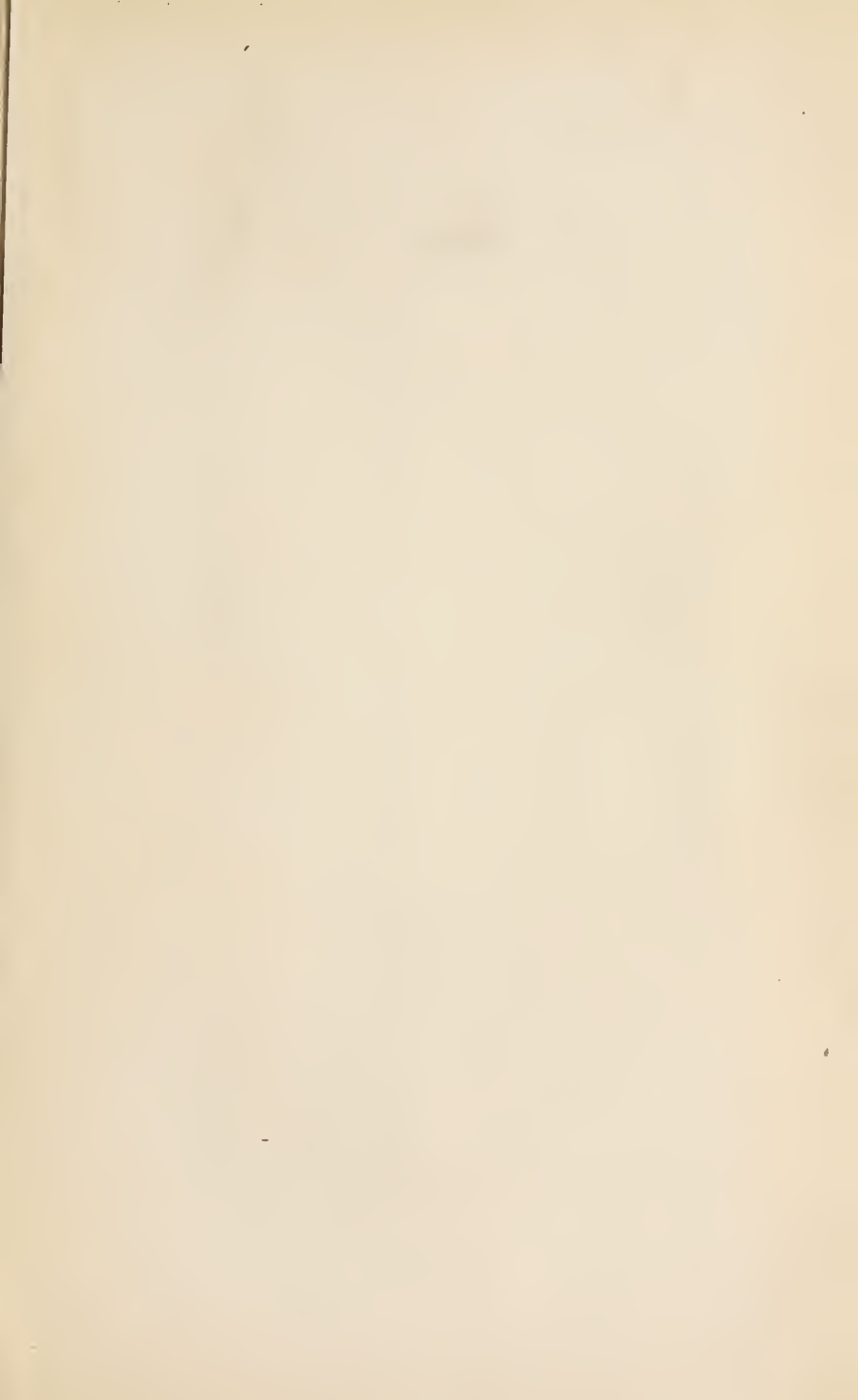
3. Generally speaking, the subject-matter of the 'Encyclopædia Biblica' is that of Bible dictionaries in general. Some large important headings will, however, be found here for the first time, and archæological facts have been treated with greater fulness than has been usual in works of this class. By a careful system of cross-references to general articles, and by the admission of only such parts of a subject as directly affect Biblical questions, it has been found possible to treat many headings with greater brevity than in previous works in the same field. For facility of reference all the larger articles have been divided into numbered sections, with sub-headings printed in clear type.

4. Great pains have been taken and much thought has been expended with the view of avoiding repetitions, and attaining the greatest possible condensation, especially in minor matters, so as to secure adequate treatment of all questions of primary importance.

5. The work has, on the whole, proceeded simultaneously throughout the alphabet, so that all the articles, from the largest to the very smallest, might be collated with each other in as far as they are mutually dependent or illustrative; the results of this collation being given in very full references to the numerical section of the cognate article.

6. By delaying the stereotyping to the very last, it has been possible to work the results of new discoveries or fresh discussions, as they appear from month to month, into the whole mass of articles.

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